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The Original Home of the Hittites and the Site of Kussar

BY A. H. SAYCE

THE original home of the founders of the royal dynasties of the Hittites was the country of Kussar. It was of Kussar and Kussar only that Khattusilis, the ancestor of Subbi-luliuwas, the founder of the second dynasty, was king (*KB.* iii, p. 30); so, too, was "the lord" Labarnas or Tabarnas, the founder of the first dynasty (*c.* 1900 B.C.). From his death-bed in the city of Kussar Khattusilis I issued his last testament to his son and successor Mursilis I, and the only territorial title of the unnamed "great king" in whom Dr. Forrer is probably right in seeing Mursilis I is "king of Kussari". The state records carefully preserved the annals of a still earlier monarch, Anittas "king of Kussara", who describes in them his conquest of the Hittite-land.

Anittas states that after his conquest of the King of Nêsa he was attacked for the second time by Bîûstis "king of the Hittites" who filled "all the land from Zalbu to the sea" with the troops he had brought to assist the people of Zalbu. At an earlier date Ukhnas king of Zalbu, we learn, had carried away his "gods from Nêsa to Zalbu. On this second occasion I, Anittas, the great king, have carried back my gods from Zalbu to Nêsa and have brought Khuzziyas king of Zalbu alive to Nêsa. To the city of Khattusas Bî[ûstis] had returned (?); I left him there; but when on this second occasion he plotted against [me] my goddess Khalmasuittis gave him away; in the night I took him by surrender and fixed the limit of his reign. O whatever king shall come after me, do you hereafter inhabit Khattusas; Tessub of heaven is pleased with it" (*KBu.* ii, 1, pp. 8, 9).

Khattusas, however, was not fortified or made a royal city till the reign of Mursilis I. His successor Khantilis tells us that "after Khattusilis the king Mursilis his son became king, and he was a powerful king. As long as hostile lands were attacking him he carried all his enemies to Khattusas so that he filled up Khattusas (with them) . . . [but at that time] Khattusas had no fortifications [and] was undefended. In earlier days there were [few inhabitants ?]. So no one had built the fortifications of the Hittite city. It was I Khantilis who built the fortifications throughout the country. And I built the city of Khattusas" (*KTu.* ii, i, p. 34).

The royal families of the later Hittite kingdom, accordingly, belonged, not to the Hittite land itself, but to what must have been a neighbouring country, namely Kussar. In fact, most of their names, like that of the goddess Khalmasuittis, are "Proto-Hittite" and not "Official Hittite". The name Khatti, "Hittite," signified "silver". *Khattusas* is represented ideographically by characters which denote "Silver-town", and in the Cappadocian tablets the borrowed *khatim* sometimes takes the place of the Assyrian *kaśpu*, e.g. Contenau, *Trente Tablettes cappadociennes*, xiv, 7; (*khatim*), *Tablettes cappadociennes*, 104, 7 (KÙ-UD *khatim*). The Hittites were the "Silver-people" who first worked the silver mines of Asia Minor and made the metal known to the inhabitants of Western Asia. The Egyptian *ḥez* must have been a loan-word from Asia Minor.

In the time of Anittas the Hittites and the natives of Kussar were still distinct from one another. That was similarly the case at a still earlier epoch, the age of Naram-

Sin, of the dynasty of Akkad (2650 B.C.). In the Hittite copy of the story of his conquests in the north-west the names of some of the subject princes come in the following order (*KTu.* ii, 1, p. 2): "Pamba king of Khatti, Khutuni king of Kanes, Nur-[Dagan king of Buruskhanda], Akwâruwas king of the Amorites, Tissenki king of Parasi, [. . . king of . . .], Madakina king of Armani, GIS-KIB-BU king of the Cedar-mountain (Amanus), Tisse[nki ? king of Ibla]." Khatti would therefore have bordered upon the territory of Kanes, now Kara Eyuk, N.W. of Kaisariyeh. It is from Kara Eyuk that the Cappadocian tablets are derived.

One of the Cappadocian tablets published by Dr. Contenau (*Tablettes cappadociennes*, No. 10) is as follows :—

"(1) Thus Su-Istar (2) and Ellil-bani (3) to Bazia say: (4) On the day when our letter (*literally* tablet) (5) you shall hear, if it has been settled (*nadu*) that (6) to Samukha and Kusara (7) in accordance with your letter you have not yet [departed ?], (8) you must go; your letter for the 3 horses destroy (*literally* break), and (9) in your presence (10) I will transfer (it). But now (11) go at once (*a*(*na*) *magadam*). (12) If it has not been settled, (13) to Samukha (14) and Kusara do not go; (15) your letter for the 3 horses (16) destroy, and for (17) Til-Imra I will change it and now for (18, 19) the future it will remain changed. (20) But keep (?) your word and (21) to Khurama I will transfer it. (22) And now (23) we will pay. (24) We . . . (25) thus: do you give advice concerning (26) the transfer (*literally* when I shall transfer it)."

Khurama is again mentioned in another tablet (No. 9) :—

"(1) To Inâ says (2) thus Bur-Asir: (3) On the day we send (the goods) (4) [and] pay the cost (5) I for Burus-khatim (6) will start. (7, 8) When I have gone down (to it) (6) the silver in payment for your goods (9) according to the inventory of Samas-tabba (10, 11) I will pay. Your (. . .) (12) some time ago (12) I have sealed and (13) have sent to you. (14) As to your goods in the future (15) the bond of Mama-ilu (for it)

(16) Su-Istar has not given. Su-Anim (17) in Khurama for 3 months (18) has [kept ?] the goods for him."

Khurama or Khurma, which is frequently mentioned in the Boghaz Keui texts is named again under the form of Khurma in a Cappadocian tablet published by Dr. Lewy (*Schrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul*, p. 7, *b* 4) :—

"(1) To Inâ says (2) thus Bur (MAN)-Asir : the inventory (3) of the *garum* of Ganis (4) in Khurma they have taken (5) saying : They . . . (6) on account of the messenger (7) of the *garum* of Ganis to Timel[kia have gone]."

Timelkia is the Tamalkia of the Hittite legal texts, in which the fighting-men of the Manda, of Sâla, Tamalkia, Khadrâ, Zalpa, Taskhiniya, and Khemuwa (or Khimmua), along with the archers, cavalry, and batmen, are enumerated as constituting the foreign element in the Hittite army who in the earlier days of the monarchy received pay instead of land on a feudal tenure.

The Cappadocian tablets show us that Kussara adjoined Samukha, Kusara being the exact phonetic equivalent of Kussar, since a double consonant is always written as a single one in Assyro-Cappadocian. I had supposed that Kussar was a later form of Kursaura, the Garsaura of classical geography, since it occurs in the Naram-Sin text at the end of the list of conquered countries, while Kussar is not found in it. But a Cappadocian tablet (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, p. 30, *a* 20) gives us Kursar as distinct from Kus(s)ara : "I have given the things to his sister on behalf of Istar-belakh for Kursar" (*ana akhati-su atin memânim a-sume Istar-Belakh a-Kursar*). And the tablet I have translated above states explicitly that Kusara adjoined Samukha and was in the neighbourhood of Khurma.

We know from the Hittite texts that Samukha was somewhere towards the south-east of the Hittite kingdom, and Professor Garstang is probably right in identifying it with Samosata. The suffix *-kha*, *-khi*, *-khe* signifying "people" or "land of" is common throughout the Mitannian region, and *sata* may possibly be a similar suffix. In the Hittite texts Samukha is associated with Khurma, just as it is in the Cappadocian documents.

But the Hittite texts also associate Khurma with Kussar. In *KUB.* xv, p. 21, after a reference to "the city of Khurma", the king Dudkhaliyas declares that he will make certain gifts to the "divine mistress of the land of Kussar" (DAM AN *Kussarna*). Khurma, on the other hand, is coupled with the city of Qumanni or Komana (*KUB.* xv, p. 15. 2, 8, 13, 14, 21), and appears elsewhere in connexion with Samukha, Zalpa, and other cities of the south-east. The Mitannian goddess Khebe or Kheba, "queen of heaven," was the tutelary deity of Qumanni and its neighbour Suluppa (*KUB.* xi, 29, 19–21) as well as of Aleppo, Khurma, and the cities of the Tyanitis, Tyana, Kybistra (Khubisna) and Hyde (Uda). Zalpa (also written Zalba, Zalbuwa) was on the high road to Aleppo, Khassuis intervening between them (*KBu.* i, 2, 17, *a* 28–31). It figures largely in the Cappadocian tablets, especially in those relating to textiles, and may have been the Ana-Zarba of classical geography.

Next to Kanes, however, and "the City" (ALIM-KI) of Assur, it is Burus-khatim which plays the leading part in the Cappadocian texts. Burus-khatim is the Bursakhanda of the Sargon story, the Buruskhanda of the Hittite documents. As I have said above, *-kha* was the gentilic suffix, while *-nda* is a common Asianic topographical termination and the combination of the two has been assimilated by the Semites of Kanes to *khatim* "silver" and the name of the Hittites or "Silver-men". We may perhaps infer from this that it was a Hittite city, and so included within the territory of Kussar. I believe that it is the Borissos of classical geography where the parents of Philostorgius lived (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 308). At any rate the name "Burus of silver" indicates that it was situated in the vicinity of the mines from which the Assyro-Cappadocian merchants obtained most of the metal, and this is further borne out by the evidence of the tablets.

Now the chief silver mines in the neighbourhood of Kanes and, in fact, in any part of Asia Minor, are those of Bereketli in the Ala Dagh. Sir W. M. Ramsay tells me that the ancient workings extend over several square miles, and when he was there in the early eighties some surface working was still going on. It is therefore significant that on the west side of the mines is the village of Borasta, while on the eastern side of them and on the line of the old road from Kaisariyeh to Northern Syria is Farash, where there are ancient iron mines. It would have been from these latter that the king of Kizzuwadna obtained his iron about which he writes (*KB.* i, p. 48, 20–4): "As for the iron about which [you] write to me, there is none of the best iron (at present) in the treasury of the city of Kizzuwadna; it is bad for working iron; the chief smith (SIB TA-BAR, i.e. *tibira*) who works at the best iron is working it, but has not yet finished; when he finishes I will send it to you; meanwhile [I am dispatching] to you an iron dagger-blade." It is probable that the iron was wanted in Egypt.

Buruskhanda is mentioned in an extract from an inscription of an early Hittite king. Here we read in a mutilated passage: "When I went to Buruskhanda a man of Buruskhanda gave me what is called a *khankutim*, that is an iron seat with an iron footstool. When I went afterwards to the city of Nêsa I took the man of Buruskhanda with me, and when he goes to Zalpa he will be there with its *furniture* (?)." Nêsa was probably the classical Nisos midway between Mar'ash and Samsât (Samo-sata). The mention of the iron objects is interesting as it carries back the working of iron to a much earlier period than we had been accustomed to assign to it. But it is supported by the recent discovery of an iron instrument in the early cemetery at Ur, which Mr. Woolley would place about 3000–2500 B.C.

The main result of the foregoing facts is that Kussar, the original home of the Hittite rulers, was in the mountainous region between Komana and Malatiyeh. Here they adjoined the territory of the Hittites or Silver-workers, who again, like Buruskhanda, bordered on the district of Kanes. Here, too, were the sources of the nine sacred rivers, including the Pyramus, the Saros (Hittite Sawri), the Karmalas, and the Euphrates (Tokhma Su), which are repeatedly referred to in the Moscho-Hittite hieroglyphic texts and to which according to *KUB*. xv, 30, 58–9. "Two birds and nine cakes" were offered. Kussar was thus a portion of the later kingdom of Kizzuwadna, which accounts for its disappearance from the historical records after the rise of the latter state. On the Syrian side were the Amorites, the Murrû of the Sumerians, called Murrû-khe, and Murwu-khe in the letter of the Mitannian King Dusratta (i, 11, 14), whose name appears as Mur-las (not Khar-las!) in the Hittite texts. They were the north-western representatives of the Sumerian Subari or people of "the plateau" (in contradistinction to the Nimma or "Highlands") that is to say Mesopotamia and the district east of the Tigris, and had their capital at Aleppo. Somewhere about 3000 B.C. they had been overrun and partly conquered by Semites who established themselves at Assur and made their way as far north as the Halys in Cappadocia. Before the fifteenth century B.C. the Semitic Assyrian dialect extended from Kirkuk (Arpakha, Arrapachitis) on the eastern side of the Tigris to the country north of the Halys where they were known to the Greeks as the Leukosyri or "White Syrians". According to Strabo "Mæandrius writes that the Eneti, coming from the White Syrians, fought as allies of the Trojans, and departed thence with the Thracians and colonized the Adriatic gulf, while those who did not take part in the campaign became Cappadocians" (Strab. xii, 3, p. 473). Arrian of Nicomedia averred that "Cappadox was the son of Ninyas, after whom the name of Assyrians was changed into Cappadocians". So, too, Herodotus describes the "Syrians" as living in the neighbourhood of the Pterian country "on the road to Sinôpê", and expressly states that the Cappadocians were called Syrians by the Greeks (i, 76, v, 49). The "Pterian country" is usually identified with Boghaz Keui; it is noticeable, at any rate, that *patari* signified "city" in Vannic, like *wedri* in Lycian, while in the Cappadocian tablets "the city" is the common designation of Assur. Khar-Ninuwa, "Mount Nineveh," it may be noted, was in the neighbourhood of Kanes (*BK*. iv, p. 71, 38). Like the Greek traders in later times the Assyro-Cappadocian merchants were attracted to Sinôpê by the cinnabar which is called "the stone of the land of Śinibe" or Sinôpê in one of the Cappadocian tablets (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, ii, p. 24, 23–4). Śinibe is the Sinuwa of the Hittite texts which couple it with the otherwise unknown Tawanaka (*KB*. iv, p. 71, 45).

After the occupation of Khaṭtusas other places north of the Halys became seats of royalty. In *KUB*. vi, p. 33, 56–61, for example, we read: "The divine bull, the divine bull of the king, the male and female gods of the grandfather of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the grandfather of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the grandmother of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the House of the city of Gazziwara; Istar of the Field of the cities of Ankuwa, Katakhkhas and Uzunni." Gazziwara is evidently the Gaziura of classical geography.

It may be added that in *KUB*. xii, 34. 15, 18, the word for "copper" is written URUD—*Khazzin*, from which we may infer that the Hittite word for copper was *nukhazzis*. Cf. the name of the Nukhassi, "Copper-people" (?), in North Syria.

The Nizamiya Madrasa at Baghdad

By REUBEN LEVY, M.A.

I

MR. GUY LE STRANGE, in his *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs*—which is likely to remain for long the standard work on Baghdad's topography—in discussing the site of the Niẓámíya *madrasa*, puts it in the southern part of the city, between the Bábu 'l-Azaj quarter and the Bábu 'l-Baṣalíya, now known as the Bábu 'l-Sharqí.[1] The argument for this site rests chiefly—though there are other references which seem to support it—on an ambiguous passage in Yáqút's *Mu'jamu 'l Buldán*,[2] dealing with the Tutushí foundations built by Khamartagín, a slave of the Sultan Alp Arslán's younger son Táju 'l-Dawla Tutush. These foundations are " a bazaar near the Niẓámíya *madrasa*, called the ' Tutushí estate ', a *madrasa* called ' Tutushiya ' near it, for members of Ḥanafite sect, and a hospital, also known as the ' Tutushí ' in the Bábu 'l Azaj (quarter) ". Equally vague and obscure is another passage in which Yáqút refers to the Niẓámíya *madrasa*. It comes during his description of the locality of the Qurayya quarter on the west bank of the Tigris, " opposite," he says, " to the lane leading down to the river from the Niẓámíya *madrasa* bazaar." [3]

The historian Sibṭ Ibnu 'l-Jawzí, who came of a Baghdad family and died in A.D. 1257, only a quarter of a century or so after Yáqút, says quite definitely that the *madrasa* was built " on the Tigris bank, at the Mu'allá canal ".[4] This would put the school in the north rather than in the south of the city; but there is evidence to support this new view. In his life of the physician Amínu 'l-Dawla, the medical biographer Ibn

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[1] pp. 296–300.

[2] Ed. Wuestenfeld, i, p. 826.

[3] Op. cit., iv, p. 84.

[4] *Mirátu 'l-Zamán*, anno 457 (BM. MS. Or. 4619).

Abí Uṣaybi'a, who died in A.D. 1270, says first that the physician's house lay near the Niẓámíya *madrasa* [1] and then that it was situated in the Perfume Bazaar (Súqu 'l-'Iṭr) and near that gate of it neighbouring on the Willow Gate (Bábu 'l-Gharaba), and lastly that it stood in the lane leading down to the river (*al-mashra'a*).[2] Now the Bábu 'l-Gharaba was the northernmost of the four gates piercing the wall of the Ḥarím, or Royal Precincts, and the Niẓámíya *madrasa* lane, in which stood Amínu 'l-Dawla's house, must be identified with the Mashra'atu 'l-Ibríyín,[3] which is to-day a road that leads to the North Bridge and is called *Mashra'atu 'l-Maṣbagha*, "the Dyers' Watering-place," [4] while the Súqu 'l-'Iṭr must almost certainly be that which was contained in the Súq 'l-Rayḥáníyín, or Perfumers' Market, immediately to the north of the Ḥarím wall.[5] Ibnu 'l-Athír also lends his support to a northern site for the Niẓámíya when he says that in A.H. 470 the inhabitants of the Súqu 'l-madrasa quarter quarrelled on matters of doctrine with those of the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá quarter.[6] It may be assumed that it was a neighbourly dispute like the everlasting conflicts between the Karkh and the Bábu 'l-Baṣra quarters, which lay alongside one another on the west bank. The Súqu 'l-Thaláthá for the most part of its history lay in the north of the city near the river, and beginning at the north gate (present Bábu 'l-Mu'aẓẓam) of the city, came down to the north wall of the Ḥarím and then passed through the Súqu 'l-Rayḥáníyín.[7] Thus Ibn Baṭúṭa describes it when he visited the city in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327); and he says, further, that the Niẓámíya was actually in the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá,[8] i.e. probably that the main entrance lay in the *súq*. A further indication, slight in itself but significant when taken with the other points, is that the latest professors of the Niẓámíya were also at the same time teachers at the Mustanṣiríya *madrasa*,[1] which still stands, though converted to the uses of a custom-house and a coffee-shop. The fact seems to indicate the proximity of the two buildings of which the latter, according to Ibn Baṭúṭa, stood at the further, i.e. the south, end of the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá.[2]

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[1] *'Uyúnu 'l-Anbá*, ed. A. Mueller, vol. i, p. 260.

[2] Op. cit., p. 262.

[3] v. Le Strange, op. cit., p. 265.

[4] Cf. Massignon, "Les medresehs de Baghdad," *Bulletin de l'Inst. fr. d'Arch. Or.*, vol. vii, pp. 77–86.

[5] Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 271–2. Yáqút, op. cit., ii, pp. 419–20.

[6] x, p. 63 (Thornberg's edition).

[7] Le Strange, op. cit., p. 283.

[8] Ed. Defrémery, ii, p. 108.

Probably, therefore, the remains of the Niẓámíya *madrasa* at Baghdad are to be looked for amongst the buildings immediately upstream of the present North Bridge, perhaps in the coffee-shop situated there, which lies a little below the level of the *súq* and occupies a room far larger than would seem normal for such a business.

To concede this identification removes the awkward necessity of making the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá a long, winding street, going from the north gate of the city to the south (or Kalwádha) gate.[3]

II

For the sake of completeness it may be of some use to add some details already known of the *Madrasa* which have not hitherto been put together in one place. The Niẓám 'l-Mulk founded the *madrasa* primarily for the Sháfi'í school,[4] and intended that the orthodox system of al-Ash'arí was to be taught there. His idea may have been partly to lend his support to the Ash'arites, who, until he himself stopped the practice, had for long been cursed officially from the city pulpits.[5] The greatest of all Ash'arite teachers, al-Ghazálí, held a professorship at the school for four years.[6] Even he was not free from attack, for amongst his hundreds of students there was a certain fanatic, Muḥammad ibn Túmurt, who violently criticized the professor on the grounds that he wore good clothes and donned a special academic robe for his lectures at the *madrasa*.[1]

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[1] Wuestenfeld, *Die Academien der Araber*, pp. 27, 28.

[2] Cf. Le Strange, op. cit., p. 268.

[3] Cf. Le Strange, op. cit., p. 299.

[4] *Mirátu 'l-Zamán*, anno 457, f. 253*b*.

[5] Ibnu 'l-Athír, x, 141.

[6] Beginning in A.D. 1091.

At the outset the school was by no means universally approved. Houses were cleared for the building of it, apparently without any compensation to the expropriated owners,[2] and the first *mudarris*, Abu Isḥáq al-Shírází, while on his way to the opening ceremony [3] was stopped by a youth who asked how he, the professor, presumably a man of piety, could teach in an institution built on ground unlawfully seized. The *mudarris* promptly returned home, in spite of the large audience which was kept waiting for him for the best part of the day. Only after twenty days' argument was he persuaded to take up his duties, which had meantime been carried out by a substitute professor, Abu Naṣr Abu 'l-Ṣabbágh.[4]

The Caliph had intimate connexions with the *madrasa*, and his permission was necessary before any *mudarris* could take up his duties there. Yúsufu 'l-Dimishqí was excluded from the Friday assembly in the Caliph's mosque, for having attempted to teach in the *madrasa* after his appointment by the Seljúq Sultan Mas'úd—without first receiving leave from the sovereign. Even the substitute sent by the prince was refused leave by the offended Caliph until Mas'úd had in person interceded with him.[5]

Some of the early Universities in Europe had similar connexion with the temporal and ecclesiastical powers and derived authority from them. The University of Paris thus held its position by the authority both of Church and State.[6]

Each new appointment to the post of *mudarris* is noted by the historians and it may be assumed therefore that the position was one of considerable importance. It would seem that only one *mudarris* was elected at a time and great difficulty was caused when in 483/1090, two eminent scholars arrived in Baghdad both armed with diplomas of appointment from the Niẓámu 'l-Mulk. An arrangement by which the professors lectured on alternate days was the only way out of an embarrassing situation.[1] There seems to have been no restriction on the number of subordinate teachers, *mu'ids* (répétiteurs),[2] or, more generally, *faqíhs*.[3] Easily the most famous in after life of those who thus taught at the *madrasa* was Sa'dí of Shíráz. He tells us that he well earned the salary he was paid at the school, for he was at work day and night—almost like Charles Lamb's Schoolmaster—" in a perpetual cycle " of teaching and repetition.[4] Another teacher who afterwards attained eminence was Baháu 'l-Dín (Bohadin), Saladin's biographer.[5]

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[1] '*Uyúnu 'l-Ta'ríkh*, Camb. MS. Add. 2922, f. 36*a*.

[2] *Mirátu 'l-Zamán*, loc. cit.

[3] Tenth Dhú 'l-Qa'da, A.H. 479.

[4] *Ibnu 'l-Athír*, x, 38 ; *Ibn Khall*, ed. Wuestenfeld, No. 410, ii, p. 113.

[5] *Ibnu 'l-Athír*, xi, 100.

[6] L. Massignon, loc. cit.

Ibn Jubayr describes a lecture given by the *faqíh* Raḍíyu 'l-Dín al-Qazwíní, following the afternoon prayer on a Friday. After the class was assembled, the lecturer mounted a platform or pulpit,[6] and the students sitting on stools in front of him intoned a section from the Qur'án. When this was done the Shaikh delivered an address on that or some other section, and was then assailed by questions, some oral and others written, from all parts of the room. By the time he had finished answering them, it was time for the evening prayer, and the class dispersed.[7]

The students (*faqíhs*) gradually acquired a strong corporate feeling which showed itself on occasion ; as when in 547/1152 they assaulted an officer of the Caliph who had entered the *madrasa* on duty. One of the *faqíhs*, Ya'qúb the Scribe, died in the *madrasa* without leaving an heir, and when the officer came to put his seal on the door of Ya'qúb's room (*ghurfa*), as a token of the sequestration of his property to the Caliph, the man was set upon. He called for the assistance of the porter, who thrashed a couple of the *faqíhs* ; whereupon they locked the college gates, threw the " Preacher's Chair " into the roadway, and at night made a disorderly demonstration on the flat roof, inviting others to join them in defiance of the authorities. The *mudarris* was able finally to stop the disorder, but he had to make apologies for it to the Caliph.[1]

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[1] *Ibnu 'l-Athír*, x, p. 123.
[2] *Ibn Khall*, tr. de Slane, vol. iv, p. 434, note (6).
[3] *Ibn Jubayr*, ed. Wright (Gibb Series v), pp. 219 and 229.
[4] *Bústán*, vii, l. 147, ed. Graf. p. 341.
[5] *Ibn Khall*, tr. de Slane, vol. iv, pp. 417 f.
[6] Sometimes he sat in the *sudda* ? " the porch ". *'Uyúnu 'l-Ta'ríkh*, f. 9*a*.
[7] *Ibn Jubayr*, op. cit., pp. 220, 231.

Amongst the numerous benefactors of the *madrasa* were the Caliph Náṣir, who built a library for it in 589/1193 and supplied it with thousands of valuable books,[2] and the historian Ibnu 'l-Najjár, who was a friend of Yáqút and who left books to the Niẓámíya when he died in 643/1245.[3]

The final history of the institution is obscure. Ḥamdulláh Mustawfí, writing about A.D. 1340 in his *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulúb*, calls the college " the mother of the madrasas ",[4] in Baghdad, but says nothing about its condition. By that time, however, its professors were dividing their time between it and the Mustanṣiríya. The last of them of whom any mention has hitherto been found, Ghiyáthu 'l-Dín, Ibnu 'l 'Aqúlí, died at Baghdad in 797/1394,[5] two years after Tamerlane's capture of the city. There is no reason to believe that the Tartar monarch did any damage to the Niẓámíya or any other *madrasa*,[6] but it seems probable that it was gradually merged in the Mustanṣiríya and finally lost its separate identity.

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[1] *Ibnu 'l-Athír*, xi, p. 115.

[2] Op. cit., xii, p. 67.

[3] Kutubí, *Fawát*, ed. Búláq, 1283, vol. ii, pp. 329 and 330.

[4] Ed. Le Strange, p. 35.

[5] Wuestenfeld, *Academien*, pp. 28 f.

[6] Cf. Browne, " Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion," p. 191, for the respect he accorded to learning.

The Unknown Co-Founders of Buddhism: A Sequel[1]

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THERE is yet another man, whose original message to his fellow-men has been woven into the earliest teachings we call Buddhism, but whose name his age and after-ages have let die. Not in the first utterances ascribed to the Sakyan founder of the movement,[2] nor in the last things which he is represented as emphasizing and enjoining as teachings do we find this original message. We do not know when, in the forty and odd years of the founder's mission, this lost voice began to make itself heard in the same area of missionary work. We do not know when, not the teacher but his teaching was taken over as part of the stock of Sāsana logia. What we do find is a fourfold exercise, moulded into a formula of distinctive character, and emerging here and there in discourses. We also find passing allusions in the scriptures to the four heads of the formula, and we find two at least of the four expanded separately and in a different connexion.

I am speaking of the teaching which came to be called "the four divine states" (*cattāro brahmavihārā*), or later, "divine-state-jhānas" (*brahmavihārajhānāni*), or later still, "the immeasurablenesses" (*appamaññāyo*). In this order these three names severally occur: once in the Anguttara-Nikāya (iii, 225), once in Dhammasangaṇi (p. 55), once in Vibhanga (p. 272). The formula runs thus:—

"He with amity-consorted mind abides suffusing (or
So mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati,
radiating) one quarter, thus-also the second, thus-also
tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddhaṃ
the third, thus-also the fourth. So above below across
adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbavantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-
everyway, by everywhereness the entire world with amity-

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[1] To my article, *JRAS*, April, 1927.

[2] The *Buddhacarita* inserts it in the First Utterance. But no one would look for historical evidence to a factitious literary composition like this.

sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena
consorted mind, with abundant expanded immeasurable
avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. Puna ca paraṃ karuṇā-
unhate, un-illwill suffusing abides he. And then again with
sahagatena cetasā viharati ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā . . . Puna ca
pity-consorted mind he abides suffusing one quarter . . . And
paraṃ muditā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati
then again with gladness-consorted mind he abides suffusing
. . . *Puna ca paraṃ upekkhā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ*
one quarter . . . And then again with equanimity-consorted
pharitvā viharati . . . vipulena . . . mahaggatena appamāṇena
mind he abides suffusing one quarter with abundant expanded
averena avyāppajjhena pharitvā viharati.
immeasurable unhate un-illwill suffusing abides he."

This is cited from the Tevijja Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya (i, No. XIII), it being the first occurrence of the formula in the Piṭakas. But wherever the matter is introduced by way of formula—and this happens about twenty-nine times in the Pali Canon—the essential wording of the practice is exactly the same. The "*so*", "he", may be varied by "the monk" (*bhikkhu*); the practice may be introduced as a special form of Jhāna, namely by the orthodox preliminary of "putting away these five Hindrances in weakening by wisdom the corruptions of the mind", but the fixed wording itself is a constant.

The frequency with which the formula occurs in the Canon varies greatly according to Piṭaka and book. Let us glance at these in order.

The Vinaya apparently has no use for it. The practice in the case of the first factor "amity" is shown to be familiar, but in the five allusions to it the formula is not cited, and in three of them the "suffusing" is not an expansion to the universal, but is directed to one individual, to wit, a discourteous layman,[1] an elephant,[2] to any monk whom it

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[1] *Mahāvagga*, vi, 36. The Parivāra summaries mention *mettāviharī* once.
[2] *Cullavagga*, vii, 3.

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behoved a fellow-monk to admonish.[1] Of the other two, one is a passing reference to the first factor as an old habit made about himself by the monk Revata, a century after the death of the founder.[2] The other is of great interest in that it gives us a rival formula,[3] wording only the first factor, "amity," wording it also by way of a universalizing expansion, but wording it in terms very different from those of the fourfold formula. It occurs also in the Anguttara, as a noteworthy group of four things in the "Fours Nipāta".[4] But this is not in connexion with the other three factors (that finds separate mention), but because it is a charm or spell against snake-bite from any of the four kinds of snakes! These four "families" (*kula*) are Virūpakkha, Erāpatha, Chavyaputta, and Kaṇhagotamaka. These "should be suffused with a friendly mind" (*mettena cittena phareyya*); then thought should proceed from apods (*apādakā*) to bipeds, quadrupeds, multipeds, culminating in

> May all beings, all breathers, all creatures everyone,
> *Sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā*
> All see lucky things! May no evil whatever come!
> *Sabbe bhadrāni passantu! ma kañci pāpaṃ āgamā ti!*

To this possibly very ancient rune the Sangha, in annexing it, has added a coda making it orthodox, and linked this with the probably original affirmation of the rune: "Worked by me is the warding! Worked by me is the shielding! Let all creatures depart!"

On this and the other Buddhist "warding-runes" I have written in introducing the most elaborate of them: the Āṭānātiya Suttanta, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii, p. 185 ff. On the curious and interesting names for serpent-"*kulas*" Richard Morris's note on the Bower birch-bark MS., in which a version of the rune was discovered "in the ruined buried city of Mingai, Kashgaria", nearly thirty years ago, should be consulted: *JPTS*, 1893, pp. 61 ff. My concern here is with the mental attitude in the rune. And this is not quite fitly rendered in any translation known to me. Fausböll and Rhys Davids translate "I love Virūpakkhas" and so on.[1] Messrs. Jayasundere and Woodward translate "Goodwill towards Virupakkhas" and so on.[2] The Pali is simple and crude, such as we should expect in a "*vijjā*" or spell of popular and ancient usage. It is

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[1] Ibid., ix, 5.

[2] Ibid., xii, 2.

[3] Ibid., v, 6.

[4] *A.*, ii, 72

Virūpakkhehi me mettaṃ, mettaṃ Erāpathehi me . . .

Literally rendered this is "with the Virūpakkhas for me the kind thing (be)", etc. And whereas the Anguttara Commentary passes it over, the Jātaka Commentary supplies the word "with" (*saddhiṃ*), and explains "me" by (the Dative or Genitive) *mayhaṃ*.[3] I have rendered *mettaṃ* as "kind thing", just as *mittaṃ* may be, but *mettaṃ* and *metti* are not unknown as variants of *mettā*.

The other instances of love-suffusion in the Vinaya are the famous taming of the fierce elephant Nālāgiri, and the much less known taming of the discourteous Roja, quoted at length by Oldenberg.[4]

In the Sutta Piṭaka, the Four Nikāyas give the Fourfold Formula 26 times: Dīgha 7 times, Majjhima 3, Saṃyutta 4, Anguttara 12 times. Besides these there are two cases where three only of the Four are mentioned, twenty-three cases where *mettā* alone is the subject, one where "pity" alone is "practised", and one where *muditā* is to be "practised". It may be noted too, as not insignificant, that in the Etadagga Sutta of the Anguttara (the ascription of "diplomas" of excellence to individual adherents), only one person is named as best in the practice, not of the Four, but of *mettā* only, and that is a woman and a laywoman at that: Samāvatī.[5]

In the Fifth, or Khuddaka-Nikāya, some of which is what may be termed apocryphal, there is, in all its fourteen books (I omit the late but included Commentary to the Jātaka) only one citation of the fourfold formula. This is in the Paṭisambhidā-magga. But that the fourfold group was known also to the recorders of the earliest book of the fourteen is seen just once. In the first part of the Sutta-nipāta we find :—

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[1] *SBE*, x, and *Vin. Texts*, iii.

[2] *Numerical Sayings*.

[3] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, ii, 145.

[4] *Buddha*, ii, ch. 3.

[5] Eka-Nipāta.

Amity,[1] poise, pity, release
pursuing and gladness in order [2]
without repulsion for the whole world
let him fare alone like a rhinoceros' horn.

And that not only the group of terms but the formula itself may have been familiar to the Sutta-Nipāta repeaters seems suggested by the phrases in verse 507 :—

He passion-rid should repress ill-will
making to grow the friendly mind immeasurable,
day and night ever earnestly
he should suffuse every quarter (with) Immeasurableness.[3]

Here in the last word is even an anticipation of the later name for all four: the immeasurablenesses, or infinitudes. In verse 987, in a passing allusion to *mettā*, we get the word *phasse*, touch, instead of *phareyya*, suffuse :—

Let him touch with amity (things) weak and strong.

In verses 143–52, or Mettasutta, repeated in another little anthology, the Khuddakapāṭha, there is a lovely combination of the first three of the four suffusion-thoughts, in which, without the word "suffuse" (*bhāvāya*: "make to become," is substituted), phrases from both the fourfold formula and the warding rune are wrought together. Here too is the simile, known to many now, of the amity-to-be-thought being as immeasurable as a mother's warding love. It is in this poem that occurs the phrase which may well have given rise to the group-term *brahmavihāra*.

brahmam etam vihāram idha-m-āhu.
divine (is) this state! here have they said.

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[1] Verse 72. [2] So the Comy. interprets *kāle*.
[3] Each factor was called by the abstract noun.

In the other anthologies only *mettā* is commended : in the Dhammapada once only, in the word *mettāvihārin* ; in the Thera-therī-gāthā Revata is eloquent on *mettā* as his habitual attitude, and so is the tamed bandit Angulimāla, Sañjaya briefly echoing them ; Phussa enjoins amity and pity, and the boy Sopāka echoes the mother-simile. This is all ![1] In the Iti-vuttaka is the very glowing eulogy of *mettā* with eloquent similes of moon, sun, and morning star. Here is no fourfold praise, nor formula, but treatment in terms of value, and that with a term of the market : *agghāyati*. This may have been at the time a novel and forced term in religious teaching. It is unlikely to have originated in a monastic atmosphere, and I can well imagine Gotama bringing it out of his own experience and his father's in intercourse with the "court-valuer" (*agghakāraka*).[2] There is also in this work the linking of *mettā* with the term mind-release (*cetovimutti*), the interpolated word, making five, which we saw in the Sutta-Nipāta verse quoted above.[3]

Expanded treatment of the first term only, *mettā*, occurs in the Paṭisambhidā-magga's "Mettakathā".[4] And a special expansion of the second term, pity, as a Buddha-attribute, is given in the chapter "The achievement of the Great Pity", a liturgy of refrains not without aesthetic impressiveness.[5] *Muditā* is never expanded ; its solitary separate use in the Anguttara I have noted. The word is just "gladness", but its meaning appears to have been always the special gladness of the German *Mit-freude*, that is, one half only of the meaning of sympathy, just as pity stands for the other half.

Nor is there any expanded treatment of the suffusing of the fourth thought *upekkhā*. Here it is the Buddhist term that is not very fit. Used to express mind-work where there is no awareness of either pleasure or pain, the word has in its background, so to speak, a positive connotation of evenness or poise[1] (*sama*). This finds expression in the verses describing the tenth and last "perfection" (*pāramī*), developed by a Bodhisat, namely *upekkhā*.

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[1] Nos. ccxliv, cclv, xlviii, xxxiii.

[2] § 27 and *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i, 216.

[3] P. 275, cf. below, p. 285.

[4] Vol. ii, p. 130.

[5] Ibid., p. 133.

> "They who prepare ill for me and they who give me happiness:
> to all I am even; granting and grudging exist not.
> balanced as to pleasure and pain in honours and dishonours
> everywhere even am I; this is my 'perfection of *upekkhā*'."[2]

Now this evenness was of the very stock-in-trade of the monk, who had turned his back on world-experience. He had to face the need of it at every turn. He was especially called upon to suffuse *himself* with it. Hence probably arises the absence of any expansion of the idea of "willing"—for so of course we should say—evenness in others. To this I return presently.

Lastly the Abhidhamma gives twice a place to the fourfold formula: in the first book (Dhammasangaṇi), showing it as an adjunct to "good" or Rūpa-Jhāna, and in the second book (Vibhanga), where it occupies a chapter, towards the end, after that on Jhāna. There is no expansion anywhere of any separate factor.

Thus much in brief survey of the manner in, and extent to which this very remarkable subject of purposive thought is met with in the Buddhist (Pali) Canon. The reader is now in a better position to weigh the suggestion I put forward. This, I repeat, is that in the teaching, couched and half-hidden in a fixed wording, of a man so worthing and warding his fellowman, nay, his fellow-creatures, as to practise telepathy upon them in four modes for their benefit, his own included, we have the mandate of some man or woman, or both, which was not in the mission of the founder, or of the unknown co-founders of the Buddhist movement, but which was, at some unassignable time in the years of inception, introduced, accepted and annexed, together with the credit thereof.

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[1] Lord Chalmers's rendering.

[2] *Cariyāpiṭaka*, iii, 15.

This is not supported by reference to any other Indian scriptures which may approximately be judged to be contemporaneous with, or prior to the Buddhist Piṭakas. Worthy sayings on amity and pity and on evenness may be found in early Upanishads and the Mahābhārata, albeit not perhaps on "muditā". It is *the collocation of the four in a practice of telepathic thought*, which ranges (the formula hides this) from the individual to the very world, with the idea of thereby healing and benefiting *others*, which no one seems as yet to have detected save in the Piṭakas, that throws the teaching into high relief as both original and in itself distinct from any other gospel, Buddhism included.

It is, I believe, only in the Yogasūtras (i, 33) that we find, in extra-Buddhist literature, the fourfold thought and its "cultivation". But, apart from the post-Buddhistic date ascribed very generally to the compilation of the Sūtras as we have them, they clearly represent, as compared with their wider scope in the Piṭakas, a shrunken practice. They are mentioned in passing as just a needed adjunct to mental stability. The chief aim is there the benefit of the yogin. Emphasis is no more on aiding the fellowman. The unique, the once fresh idea of suffusing is replaced by cultivating (*bhāvanā*).

There is one passage, and one only, of internal evidence, pointing to its being the teaching of persons called "Wanderers (*paribbājakā*) of a different school" (*aññatitthiyā*). This is inserted, without obvious reason, into the Bojjhanga-Saṃyutta (No. 46).[1] At Haliddavasana of the Koliyas some monks, making a call in the Wanderers' Park, are asked whether the doctrine of the fourfold suffusion—the term is my own; the description is in the Buddhist formula—which the inquiring Wanderers teach, is the same as that which the Samaṇa Gotama teaches, "doctrine for doctrine, teaching for teaching," or is there a difference? The monks hastily return and consult their fountainhead.

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[1] Vol. v, 346. N.B.—There is no *Brāhmavihāra-Saṃyutta !*

His reply as to wherein his own method and outlook were, not contradictory, but a taking up of the suffusing practices into something that was not merely ethical but religious, is, if it contain a true echo of the Man's words, of very great significance. He is said to have answered: "You should ask them 'How is each one of the four developed? What does it lead to? What is its perfect form? What is the result of it? What is its goal?'"

These are the words of a genuine religious pioneer. The rest of the reply is so different, so obviously monkish, so according to code, that I leave it there.

Not long before his death, Gotama is shown enumerating certain points which his disciples were well to learn, pursue, make to become (*bhāvetabbā*) and expand, as he had taught them, to serve for the welfare and happiness and good of mankind. These amount to seven groups, thirty-seven in all, and have been classed as the thirty-seven doctrines belonging to enlightenment (*bodhi*). Now the Fourfold Formula of suffusion is *not among them.*[1]

Again, I repeat, no disciple, let alone eminent disciple, stands out in the "official list" as best (*agga*) [2] in the fourfold suffusion. Seventy-six men and women are thus distinguished, two of them more than once. There are upwards of seventy ways, in life, character and mind, for which they are distinguished, but of Brahmavihāras there is not a word save concerning the amity-habit of just one laywoman.[3]

There is another reason for finding, that the Brahmavihāra code of practice is not of endogenic growth in what we may call the original mandate. No cult, unless it be that of the Hebrews, has more emphatically based itself as a religion on morals (*sīla*) than did Buddhism. The first Suttanta in the first book of its Sutta-Piṭaka is, in its first half, a setting forth of the good life as a threefold graded Sīla. And it is no fleshless code, but a triple grading of values, *as worthed* more or less by the judgment of its founder and *put by him into practice*. This triple Sīla is repeated, fully or in part, in nine of the twelve following Suttantas. Here then if anywhere should we have expected to find the fourfold *brahmavihāra* brought in, as either the climax of *brahmacariya*, the holy or divine living, or as a special development in the carrying out of it.

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[1] Nor, it is true, are the "Four Truths!"

[2] *Anguttara*, i, 23 ff.

[3] *Manorathapūraṇī* (*A.* Comy.), i, 418 ff.

We look through the first and eight of the following connected Suttantas, each showing a different occasion for the appeal to the body of Sīla doctrine, in vain. Not till the last Suttanta, the Tevijja, does it come, and then just where we should have looked for it: as the culmination in reply to the question: "And how, Vāseṭṭha, is his conduct good?" Five stages in the purifying character and conduct are given in reply, then the ensuing joy and peace, and *then* does "he, with amity-consorted mind suffusing one quarter" and the rest, proceed to exercise the telepathic warding and helping of his fellow-beings.

But why here only? The Brahmavihāras are mentioned here and here only, because of a tradition which had come down to the editors of the Piṭakas, that Brahmavihāra practice meant attainment after death to rebirth in the Brahmaworld. Thus elsewhere a monk who is an habitual practiser is called *brahmapatto*, just as a monk who is an habitual "Jhāna-practiser" is called, for reasons that I suggest elsewhere, *deva-patto*.[1] And the Tevijja Suttanta theme is how best to insure joining the community of the Brahma-devas. *That* is why we find it here.

Whence came this association of the Brahmavihāras with what was, or was believed by Buddhists at one time to be, the goal of Brahman aspiration? "I thought, sir," Sāriputta, himself an ex-brahman, is made to say to his leader, "that as these brahmans' hearts are set on the heaven of Brahmā,

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[1] *Anguttara*, ii, 184; cf. "Dhyāna in Early Buddhism", *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Dec., 1927.

I would show the way to union with Brahmās."[1] But I have nowhere seen it contended by any book old or new, that the fourfold suffusion or irradiation of beings is supported by anything in Brahman literature. On the contrary, the Brahman was *not* taught to interest himself in his fellow-beings with all social and other barriers thrown down, such as the Buddhists termed *an-odhiso*. And even had the practice originated among the founders of the Buddhist movement, many of whom were ex-Brahmans, they would have taught and sanctioned it out of goodwill to their fellows, and *not* for the attainment of a particular world in rebirth. The layman was so to live as to win Sagga, happy rebirth; the monk was so to live as to win no rebirth.

I think that the founder of the social gospel of the Brahmavihāra attitude and practice may have been also an "ex-Brahman", living the homeless life as a Wanderer, and teaching the multitude the good life *in his own way*, just as Gotama taught in his. He too would find that the many were just then waking to the significance, for man's present and future happiness, not so much of the sacrifice, the chanted mantra, the priestly celebrant, as of the worthing and warding of the fellowman. He may well have found in popular use runes of warding off danger seen and unseen by the power of what we now call the will, but for which, *with no such word to hand*, he called thought or mind (*citta*). This negative idea in the runes of warding from danger the *willer* he, as a pioneer in advance of his age, converted into a willing of "well" to the object or *person willed*. And so much of the mother was there, as there is in all warding of creatures, in his gospel, that not only will he have had many women among his disciples, but he or they will have given expression to mother-care in his teaching. There was little interest in the mother as such for the Buddhist monk. As giver and warder of life, of "becoming" (*bhava*), she would arouse in him repulsion rather than veneration. Hence I should place the credit for the mother simile of the Sutta-Nipāta to the influence of this unacknowledged source. And with that the credit also of the simile, used but not invented by Buddhaghosa, comparing the fourfold suffusion with the mother's care for her four children: tenderness for the babe; pity for the hurt child; joy in the success of the schoolboy; poise for the busy young man.[1]

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, Dhānañjāni Sutta.

I would not say that there is anything in this gospel of "Ignotus"—or shall we call him just Māṇava, "young Brahman," as was called one of the to us Ignoti in the Theragāthā?[2]—that Gotama could not have taught, did not teach in his own way. The facts in the evidence are, that compared with the way usually ascribed to him, the way of the Fourfold "telepathy" strikes the critical eye (and ear) as something from without, exotic, much as does the upthrust of igneous rock through stratified rock. And his own abstention from claiming it as part of his programme in the Suttas of assertion or "Lion-roars", such as that in the Vinaya, Pārājika I, and in Majjhima, Sutta XII, or where the disciple asserts for him, as in the Sampasādāniya Suttanta, is a point not to be overlooked. Those Sayings are not, for me, Gotama's—he was too great a man to call himself a great man—but his editors'. But it remains, that the Fourfold Practice is *not adduced as essentially his teaching.*

I do not say, that any one of the points I put forward to show this is in itself convincing, but there are several points, and taken together they do constitute an obstacle to the usual assumption, that the Brahmavihāras are originally Buddhist teaching.

I do say that, both in tradition and by the whole purpose and work of his long mission-career, the first "state": amity or goodwill, is a true attribute of Gotama. It was the ninth (not the first) of the ten "perfections" developed by a

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[1] *Visuddhi-Magga.*

[2] No. lxxiii.

Bodhisat. True also of him is the attribute of pity, albeit this is not reckoned as a "perfection". Of the third state: "muditā," we do not find, either in Buddhological tradition, or in his mission-years, anything of *muditā* that we can single out as characterizing him. (I am open to correction.) The fourth state: poise, on the other hand is both a "perfection" (the tenth), and is testified to in the Suttas. But it tended to fall behind the others. Not without reason certain "Northern" schools maintained,[1] that if the Buddha were without passionate feeling, he could not feel the boundless pity for man and the world which the Buddhist literature constantly associates with his name. We certainly find him teaching to others *mettā*, and with it, to a very limited degree, pity and poise. But he has his own way of teaching it, according to the Sayings, and that way is *usually not* the way of the Ignotus-gospel: the way of taking one of four sentiments and letting the mind so charged brood over a section of humanity, then another and so on. The method is singular among Piṭaka methods; the terms are singular. "Suffusing, radiating" (*pharati*) is rare, and is restricted elsewhere, I believe, to the *subject*, in moments of strong emotion; here it is to affect the *object*. So little do we bear this in mind in poise, that both Buddhists and we tend to see, especially in the radiating of poise, a boomerang bringing benefit not to the object but only to the subject after his orgy of altruistic emotion.[2]

That Gotama, when he came to hear of this man (or woman), and his teaching, rated it highly and adopted it, I fully accept. It was like him to appreciate the best thought and work of his day. He appreciated the new worthing of natural causation, the Sānkhyan study of body and sense and mind as distinct from, and not to be identified with the *attan* or *puggala*

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[1] Uttarāpathakas, *Points of Controversy*, xviii, 3.

[2] In fact Spence Hardy and to some degree Oldenberg do see in the Four a sort of subjective orgy. Cf. the selfish treatment of "poise" in *Visuddhi Magga*, p. 317.

(*puruṣa*); he studied Jhāna and applied it variously, chiefly for commerce with other worlds; he saw the importance of the mantra in the efforts of his Society to frame its own Veda-runes and refrains. And here was a modern teaching after his own heart; it was man worthing man, giving himself to man, warding and raising man. How could he do other than welcome it?

And yet Gotama and "Māṇava" never met! But this is not stranger than, not so strange as, Gotama and Vardhamāna, the Jain, never meeting. Around each was his "world". The seniors, the Jains, held their great man aloof from the younger pretender. May not the possibly senior Sakyaputtas have held Gotama aloof?

Or the welcome may have been rejected by Māṇava's world, not because Māṇava will not have thought highly of Gotama, but possibly because of tendencies among Gotama's disciples over which Māṇava shook his head. What might these be?

As brahman Māṇava may have remained in word and in practice a worshipper of Brahman, or even and also of some personal projection of that impersonal Brahman. But I drop this as pure guessing, and suggest in the literature of the fourfold formula itself a possible guide to disagreement.

Gotama, like other great Helpers of man, perhaps more especially than any other, addressed his message to what we may call the man-in-man—the *puggala*—who is "neither body nor mind".[1] This it was that man should seek to find[2]: so ran his first utterances. Now his age was much preoccupied with the analysis of mind and its action through sense on body and matter. And just as it is with us now, the man, the user of mind and body, the layer down and taker up of bodies, was being suffered to drop out of sight, was coming in fact to be reckoned as a "complex" of body and mind, and nothing more. But Māṇava's teaching was an appeal to the man, and through the man to the fellowman, first in the individual and then to the group and the whole without class or sex or race or other distinction. In the formula, which will be the work of the formula-making Gotama-men, this *individual objective* is lost sight of. But that it was and remained the traditional way of the practice we can see by the Paṭisambhidā-magga's and Visuddhi-magga's descriptions of it. The man was to let his "thought", really his *will*, work on the thought, the will *of a man*. By this intensive telepathic willing the *object*, the fellowman, was to come himself to feel amity for the willer instead of dislike, to feel the warmth of a man's compassion, to feel the cheer of sympathetic friendship, to feel the balance he needed if tossed about by praise or blame, etc. The expanded willing, besides being as the French would say *ce qui fait beau dans le paysage*, is more likely to benefit the willer than the willed. We saw this in "poise"! It is by radiating amity and the rest to society, to races, to the world, that we ourselves shall in our word and deed get on in promoting the world's peace and happiness. But it is by working on the *individual* man, woman and child, that we can help with any certainty of effect. Buddhism has tended to lose sight of this in its ejection of the "man-in-man", and its skandha scheme of man's instruments *as* the man, in its preoccupation with the type, the class, the process,[1] in fact with something like a herd-psychology of its own.

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[1] The Second Discourse, and *passim* in Suttas.

[2] "Were it not better for you to seek the self (*attānaṃ*)?"

There is another possible barrier between Gotamakas and Māṇavakas in the tendency betrayed by the word release (*vimutti*), which is often interpolated in the formula, notably where the Wanderers word their practice in the Buddhist formula, *without it*, and where the reply *inserts it*. *Vimutti*, whatever else it meant to India as "mokṣa", meant in Buddhism (*a*) release from the world and (*b*) release from rebirth, both for the monk. But what if Māṇava, as a friend of man and of men, was no friend to monkdom, and disapproved of its growth among the Gotamakas?

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[1] Practically the whole of the Abhidhamma is a study of fixed type, group and process.

In such tendencies I see quite enough to deter a teacher from associating in personal intercourse with the leader of a group so tending. It may have cost him much to keep aloof. He has paid heavily. To us he is as if he had never been. But not, it may well be, to beings elsewhere.

Is there a Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian?

By D. L. R. LORIMER

IN the latest addition to the series of the *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Dr. Karl Hadank, of Berlin, has presented Iranian philologists and students of Persian dialects with a work of great interest and importance.

The series was initiated by the late Oskar Mann (ob. 1917) and the present volume, Abt. III, Band I, 1926, as well as its predecessors is based chiefly on the material collected by him. Its main contents are described in the title: *Die Mundarten von Khunsâr, Mahallât, Natänz, Nâyin, Sämnân, Sîvänd und Sô-Kohrûd*.

The studies of these dialects, however, are preceded by a lengthy Introduction, amounting to nearly a third of the volume, in which Dr. Hadank takes occasion to discuss a number of questions relating chiefly to the nature of the popular speech of Persia common to the bulk of the lower-class uneducated population, and the danger of mistaking for dialect what really belongs to this common speech.

It is with regard to one of these side questions that I propose to offer some remarks.

In talking of Nâyini Dr. Hadank quotes a remark by a British Consul, Keith E. Abbott, referring to the year 1849, to the effect that the inhabitants of Nâyin spoke a language of their own. This language was stated to be the old language of the Gabrs who had inhabited this place up to a not very remote date in the past. This and a remark by P. M. Sykes give him an occasion to set off on an excursus of some twenty pages regarding "the question of the existence of a special *Gabri* dialect". It appears that Dr. Hadank is himself the discoverer, if not the creator, of the doubt implied.

It may save others time if I mention that the problem is raised, in the terms just given, on p. LXVI, and is developed and explained on p. LXXXIII as centring on two hitherto generally accepted propositions :—

(1) That there is one language *Gabri* common to all Persian Parsees.

(2) That there is a fundamental distinction between the Gabr-speech of a locality and the speech of the Muslim population of the same locality.

His judgment on the first proposition is that it is an arbitrary and erroneous assumption, p. LXXXIII.

His judgment on the second is given at some length on p. LXXXVI in the following terms :—

> " I do not propose to dispute that the modern so-called Fireworshippers of Persia have preserved to the present day a series of old and characteristic expressions, especially such as are connected with their religion and customs. But this need by no means imply a special Parsee dialect. For that, morphological peculiarities would be required.
>
> " Even if now and again divergencies may have existed, and may still be found, between the speech-usage of the Parsees and of the Muslims of the same place, owing especially to the strong favouring of Arabic by the latter, still this conservative attitude on the part of the Parsees, their inclination to retain the traditional Iranian, does not suffice to justify the conception of a distinct 'Parsee Language'."

It follows from the views held by the author that *Yezdi*, to which he sometimes refers, is the one and only language spoken in Yezd, whether by Muslims or Zoroastrians, and that *Kermani* is similarly the one and only language spoken in Kerman, whether by Muslims or by Zoroastrians.

This *Yezdi* of his I understand to be synonymous with what I call *Yezdi Gabri*, and his *Kermani* with my *Kermani Gabri*.

We are now in a position to follow the steps in the argument by which the author arrives at his conclusions. We are less likely to get lost or side-tracked in the course of a long procession of details if we start with a distinct knowledge of the points at which the author is aiming and the conclusions to which he wishes to lead us.

Dr. Hadank starts with the introduction of the term "Gabri" by Anquetil du Perron in 1771, and comments on the contribution of each author who has since then dealt with the subject. What brought our author originally to doubt the existence of a separate Gabri language appears to have been the curiously mixed and unhomogeneous nature of the material presented by a number of the chief "authorities". We may briefly summarize his principal notes and comments.

The first inquirer to furnish Gabri texts was the Russian Berezin in 1853. Dr. Hadank quotes a number of forms from his work which appear to be incompatible with each other, some approximating to ordinary Persian, others totally differing from it, and some seeming highly improbable; and he points to Berezin's complete misunderstanding of the Agential forms of the Personal Pronouns. He concludes that it is evident that in his texts Berezin has forcibly blended inconsistent records from various dialects to form one Gabri dialect.

He adds the statement: For later inquirers "Yazdi", which was still unknown to Berezin, was simply the "Parsee language".

In 1854 H. Petermann collected from Zoroastrians specimens of "Deri",[1] their own name for their language, which were published after his death by Justi, with additions from Berezin's Gabr dialect. Justi preferred the name Gabri.

Rahatsek followed in 1873 with *Deri Phrases and Dialogues* in which Dr. Hadank finds inconsistencies in the conjugation of the verbs and the same misunderstanding of the Agential Pronouns as in Berezin. A special feature is the recurrence of medial *z* for *d*.

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[1] The term "Deri" gave rise to claims that Gabri was identical with "Deri", the name applied by certain Oriental writers to the old court language of Persia. The word has been represented as derived from *der* "door". These claims have been long ago disposed of, cp. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique* 8ième série tome XI 1888 (the volume is twice misquoted by Hadank as IX, pp. LXX and LXXIV).

May the term Deri = Gabri not be referable to Persian *der* "in", and bear the sense "internal", "domestic", or "esoteric"?

In 1879 Houtum-Schindler collected material, chiefly in Kerman, which he published in 1882. Like his predecessors he shared the illusion of the existence of a single Parsee language throughout all Persia. Only in exceptional cases does he distinguish between Yazdi and Kermani. Unlike Petermann who left his material in Arabic-Persian script, Houtum-Schindler presents his only in transliteration. Hadank believes that Schindler must have worked, at least in part, from material in Arabic-Persian script, points out variations which may be due to faulty revision, and remarks that many of his assertions disagree with the evidence of more careful observers.

In 1897 Professor E. G. Browne published a "Dari" text in Arabic-Persian script with a Persian translation, both provided by a Yezdi Zoroastrian, Ardashīr Mihrabān. Browne added a transliteration in Roman characters, and an English translation. Dr. Hadank comments on the curious use of symbols in the Gabri text and states that the Persian translation does not entirely agree with the Gabri text and that there are errors in Professor Browne's transliteration and translation. These criticisms are not wholly unjustified, but Dr. Hadank errs in the one instance he has chosen for an illustration.

He says that the Persian translation in verse 12 has آورد where it should have been بُرد.

The text has وُرْت *wurt* or *wort*, which is the preterite of *wurtmūn* or *wōrtmūn* "to bring".

Mn.P. *burd* is in Gabri *bert*.

In this case Professor Browne's translation "carried them off" is at fault; it should be "brought them along".

The fact seems to me to be that the text, as Ardashīr Mihrabān meant it to be read, is sound, as after all is only to be expected, but no one without his help, even though possessing some knowledge of Gabri, could hope to give a correct phonetic transcription of it. This is my own experience of the attempt of a Zoroastrian to write Gabri in Arabic-Persian script. And this will account for many errors in the work of inquirers who have relied on records in Arabic-Persian script and have subsequently undertaken to transliterate them.

The text appears to be free of contradictory and extraneous forms of the kind complained of in Berezin and Rehatsek, and had I taken it down in phonetic script from Ardashīr Mihrabān's dictation I think it would agree in all essentials with the texts which I so obtained from four other Gabr narrators.

The next contributor mentioned is J. de Morgan, who in his *Études Linguistiques* devotes a few pages to the "Dari" Dialect of Tehran. His work, says Dr. Hadank, doubtless contains much that is useful, it is only unfortunate that one never knows how far one can trust de Morgan's data. He resembles Rehatsek in giving a number of forms with *z* for *d*.

My own "Notes on Gabri" (*JRAS.*, 1916) are then referred to at some length. It is remarked that I make some attempt to distinguish Yezdi and Kermani forms and that I have "at least theoretically" arrived at the view that the two dialects "in their characteristic forms present some differences of vocabulary and pronunciation". I was, however, wrong and inconsistent in basing my commentary on the derivative and uncritical statement of Geiger and not on the original authorities. It is open to doubt whether my Yezdi authority may not have tended to confuse the two dialects and make them appear more similar in my work than they actually are. My method shows weakness in failing to quote the authority for every form given. I adhere to the idea of "Gabri" but remain half-way in distinguishing between Yezdi and Kermani.

To these and other personal criticisms I shall respond further on.

The author's conclusion after this review of the sources of information is that any attempt to establish "Yazdi" comes up against the contradictory accounts given of it by the various authorities. He illustrates this by examples. On some of these I may be permitted a few remarks: "day" Petermann-Justi روز̂, Ard. M. روز̂, Lorimer *rūj* (=روج).

I do not think I ever heard anything but *rūj*; but in the Arabic-Persian script which I possess written by one informant, where I recorded *rūj* to his dictation, he has written روز̂.

This illustrates the phonetic unreliability of Arabic-Persian script texts written by Gabrs.

"Wall" Romaskevič *dīvṓl*, Lorimer *zōr*, Houtum-Sch. *zár*.

I have also *zā̂r*; a Gabr would simply write زار.

dīvṓl is merely an adaptation of the ordinary Persian *dīwāl*.

One must always be prepared for the intrusion of ordinary Persian forms in place of the Gabri ones. Probably all Gabrs, certainly all one would do language work with, know and every day speak ordinary Persian, and all the educated ones write it. Ordinary Persian is the dominant language.

-v- (*w*) for literary Persian medial *-m-*. This phenomenon occurs, but in my experience *-m-* is more general.

The *niwak* "salt" quoted from me is also G.Y. (i.e. Yezdi Gabri).

I have also the metathesized form *minak*.

For *zavīn* quoted from me, I have also *zamīn*.

Infinitive endings: As regards the alternative Infinitive endings *-mūn* and *-vūn*, Dr. Hadank justly complains of an ambiguity in my statement regarding them. This is due to ignorance; but I can clear up the matter to this extent: I think I have recorded in my texts, etc., only *-mūn*, but I have a note that there is also *-vūn* as well as *-mūn*. This probably represents the answer to a direct inquiry and indicates that my informant (I think the Yezdi Burzū) recognized and admitted the form *-vūn*. I should take it that it is a general alternative for *-mūn* with any verb, and not that it is used only with certain verbs to the exclusion of *-mūn*. (See below, p. 307.)

Following this the author, after turning down an assertion of de Gobineau's that the Persian Zoroastrians talk a form of Kurdish, proceeds to combat a remark of Zhukovski's that the resemblance of the dialects of the Parsees of Yezd and Kerman and the dialect of Kasha could be explained by the assumption that the area stretching from the mountains of Kohrûd to those of Natanz was at one time, possibly not very long ago, occupied by fire-worshipping Parsees.

Dr. Hadank quotes a few Gabri and Keshaī words and forms to show that "Yezdi and Kermani unmistakably stand nearer to literary Persian than Keshaī".

The veteran W. Geiger next receives his critical attention in regard to the acceptance by him of unhomogeneous material and incorrect forms from various authorities, and contempt is poured on his assertion that the special dialect of the Parsees of Yezd and Kerman, with its tinge of antiquity, can be accounted for by their communal isolation. On the contrary, says our author, they have been in constant business intercourse with the Muslims and have been subject not to communal isolation but to contempt, special taxation and persecution. Is there, however, any real antithesis here ?

At this point Dr. Hadank announces that he has been dealing with the "*arbitrary assumption*" *that there is one form of speech common to all the Parsees of Persia* and that this may now be rejected. He then states his second proposition, but I shall pause before following him in his discussion of this, to reply to the criticisms of my own contribution the "Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian" (*JRAS.*, 1916) already referred to.

I may first mention the grounds on which I claim to speak with some authority regarding the language of the Gabrs of Yezd and Kerman and that of the Muslims of at least Kerman.

I resided and worked in Kerman as British Consul from January, 1912, to November, 1914. Throughout the greater part of that time I expended considerable labour in collecting words locally supposed to be peculiar to the Muslims of Kerman. This resulted in a collection of hundreds of words, many of which will doubtless prove not to be limited in use to Kerman; my wife also obtained the texts of the Kermani portion of the *Persian Tales* (Macmillan, 1919) and a number of nursery rhymes. I also collected a quantity of verse current in Kerman and its neighbourhood. All this material was obtained from Muslims and the language is throughout quite distinct from Gabri.

From June to October, 1914, as stated in the "Notes" I collected Gabri texts and vocabulary from Gabrs.

I was again in Kerman from August, 1916, to October or November, 1917. Throughout this period my health was unsatisfactory, and I could do little beyond what was required by my official duties, but I did some work on Gabri with a new Gabri informant and secured one long text and a quantity of grammatical notes. I also added to my stock of Muslim Kermani verse.

The "Notes on Gabri" were based on the earlier Gabri material and were drawn up in Chitral in 1915.

Now for the criticisms: I fully recognize the inconvenience of the form of the contribution judged from the point of view of a self-contained essay on the language, but such it does not claim to be. I had only limited leisure at my command and could not possibly undertake anything resembling a formal treatise. On the other hand I could pass a running comment on the résumé of existing Gabri material drawn up by a German scholar of high repute, supported by all the cumulative authority of an encyclopædic monument like the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, which stood as the last word of scholarship on the language and was presumably generally accepted as such. My article was simply a criticism principally of the material on which it is based. As such I think it was justified, and as such Dr. Hadank does not appear to find fault with it.

His complaint is really that I did not write a totally different and much more extensive work. That in my circumstances was out of the question.

He blames me for not having had recourse to Geiger's original authorities: Berezin, Rehatsek, Justi, Houtum-Schindler. He seems to have missed my statement on the first page of the article that I had tried to obtain their works but had failed. It is technically incorrect to say that I did not even know of the existence of Professor Browne's work. It is mentioned at secondhand on p. 477.

Briefly the extensive use that Dr. Hadank has been able to make of my article seems to provide sufficient justification of its publication.

In regard to the second criticism: a weakness in my method in not in every case having stated the source of a word, I would draw his attention to my explanation on p. 426 where the exact value of my Y. (Yezdi) and K. (Kermani) is explained.

I added "where no indication of source is given Y. is to be understood, but in such cases it is believed that the K. forms would be substantially the same".

This is, however, perhaps one of the "many obscurities of the exposition" which "detract from the usefulness of the treatise".

As regards the distinction between Y. and K. it has more importance for Dr. Hadank than for me.

I stated my views regarding the existence of two "sub-dialects" of Yezdi and Kermani (sc. of Gabri) guardedly on p. 425 of which Dr. Hadank quotes only part of one sentence. What I wrote was: "The same man will vary his pronunciation of the same word almost in one and the same breath. A further complication is introduced by the existence of the two sub-dialects of Yezdi and Kermani, which in their characteristic forms present some differences of vocabulary and pronunciation, but appear to intermingle to a considerable extent in the ordinary speech of the ordinary man. The two types are, however, in a general way distinguishable . . ."

I am not prepared to express any more final views until I have made a full comparative study of my material and am clearer as to what is necessary for the differentiation of sub-dialects—a matter really for the professional philologist.

According to information procured by me in 1917 one-third of the present Gabr population of Kerman immigrated thither from Yezd during the forty years lying roughly between 1867 and 1907. After the latter date, up to 1917, only a few more families are said to have come from Yezd.

If this is correct and if there were originally distinct Yezdi and Kermani sub-dialects of Gabri, one might now very well expect to find a considerable intermixture of them in the speech of the present-day Kermani Gabrs.

We may now pass on to Dr. Hadank's second proposition that *the existence of a fundamental difference between the Gabr language of a locality and the language of the Muslims of the same locality may only be accepted with certain limitations.*

Firstly he takes the case of Yezd and postulates that only those investigators who have themselves lived in Yezd and have there actually compared the language as spoken by Muslims and " Fire Worshippers ", are competent as witnesses. This rules out Ouseley and Rehatsek. E. G. Browne's standing is not beyond doubt (he spent only three weeks in Yezd). Browne writes (I quote Browne's original English) :

> " This Dari dialect is only used by the Guebres amongst themselves, and all of them, so far as I know, speak Persian as well. When they speak their own dialect even a Yezdi Musulmán cannot understand what they are saying, or can only understand it very imperfectly. It is for that reason that the Zoroastrians cherish their Dari, and are somewhat unwilling to teach it to a stranger."

Further on he says :—

> " To me they were as a rule ready enough to impart information about it."

Elsewhere Dr. Hadank quotes the opening sentence of

Browne's "Specimen of the Gabri dialect of Persia," *JRAS.*, 1897, which runs as follows :—

> "The *Gabri* dialect, as is well known, is spoken only by the Zoroastrians, or 'Guebres' of Persia (by whom it is called '*Dari*'), and is consequently almost confined to the towns of Yezd and Kirman."

Against these quite definite statements by a man of Professor Browne's calibre Dr. Hadank opposes quotations from two other authorities which he considers cancel Browne's evidence. He says :—

> (1) "H. Petermann says of Yazd: 'Here also people seem not to recognize the Arabic *f*, hence they also say *pursi* for *fâresi*. From this one perceives that here as in Shiraz they pronounce the long *a* as *o* or *u*' . . ."
>
> (2) "Napier Malcolm says: (in the original English) 'The Yezdi[1] realizes the link of a common language, but by this he means a common dialect'."

I have not been able to consult the first passage in the original, but I see nothing in what is quoted to indicate that Petermann was doing more than comparing the speech of the Muslims of Yezd with that of the Muslims of Shiraz. There is nothing to show that he had Gabrs in his mind when he wrote: "Scheint man hier auch."

I have Napier Malcolm's *Five Years in a Persian Town* before me. It is quite clear that he in no way contemplates the Gabr community of Yezd. He is talking of connecting bonds subsisting between Persians in Persia. He opposes a Yezdi to an Ispahani and to a Bushiri. "The Yezdi regards the Ispahani as a foreigner," etc.

What Dr. Hadank fails to realize is that Gabrs simply do not exist when it is a question of generalizations about Persia, or Persians, or the population of a Persian town. They do not come into the picture at all unless they are specifically mentioned.

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[1] Dr. Hadank renders "The Yezdi" by "the inhabitant of Yezd (Der Bewohner von Yezd)". As will be pointed out presently, the two are not synonymous. "Yezdi" would ordinarily mean a "Muslim of Yezd origin".

A " Yezdi " is a Persian Muslim of Yezd, similarly a Kermani an Ispahani, a Shirazi, etc., are all Muslims.

A Gabr is a Gabr, as opposed to a Muslim of his own or any other town. If you want to specify where a Gabr hails from you do not simply say " this man is a Yezdi ", but " this man is a Yezdi Gabr " or " this man is a Gabr of Yezd " (*gabr i yezdi* or *gabr az yezd*) ; you speak of " the Zoroastrians of Yezd " (*zarduštiān i yezd*) and so on.

Members of the Gabr communities, just as members of the Jew and Armenian communities in Persia, are always spoken of as such. They are never considered as being included in the body of Persian Muslims : nor do they rank with them as like with like.

I am then mentioned as in my " Gabri Notes " opposing a " Muslim Kermani Persian " to the Gabri of the title of my article. All that Dr. Hadank here does to establish his contention that these are not two forms of speech but one and the same, is to assert that my Muslim Kermani Persian is " an artificial creation ", and that judging from the examples I give I seem to understand by it a somewhat elevated language which accordingly lacks the expected dialect-colour.

I do not see how this advances the author's argument. I defined my Kermani Persian as " the Kermani dialect of Modern Persian (spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of Kerman City) ". " Dialect " is possibly too strong a term, " form " might have been the better word. I was not then, nor am I now, concerned to discuss the exact position of Kermani Persian in relation to literary, or " ordinary " Persian. It is sufficient that it is distinct from Gabri and that it remains so, even if, as is probable, it is only a variant of ordinary Persian.

Incidentally I would ask whether any case is known of a distinct dialect being spoken in at all a pure form by the majority of the Muslim population of any of the larger Persian towns.

I made no attempt to discuss the nature of Kermani Persian and it is wrong to say, as the author does, that " what Lorimer regards as *par excellence* a peculiarity of Muslim Kermani Persian—the use of *dāštan* as an auxiliary verb—is least of all so ".

All that I did, after quoting

Gabri Y. *mè dōrè tō.è* " I am (in the act of) doing "

and other similar expressions was to say : " These exactly correspond with the common idiom in Kermani Persian :—

dāram mi.āyam ' I am (in the act of) coming '
dāshtam mi.āmadam ' I was (in the act of) coming '

which I do not recollect to have noticed in other parts of Persia."

Dr. Hadank quotes a number of writings by Zhukovski on the use of *dāštan* in the Persian narrative language and states that " he reckons the future with *dāshtan* among the peculiarities of the low popular language ". Whether this is the construction illustrated by me I am not sure. I am not clear that mine contains the conception of the future even to the extent of meaning " I am just going to come ", " I am on the point of coming ".

But whether the particular idiom is common to all, or any, other forms of Persian or not does not affect the argument.

On my failure to obtain any tales or verse apparently belonging in any peculiar way to the Gabrs Dr. Hadank remarks that this would be " a disillusionment only for those, who, like himself, had approached the inquiry with the preconceived idea of the hermetical isolation and strongly self-centred life of the Persian Parsees ".

I may say that when I came to Kerman I knew very little about the Zoroastrians in Persia and I doubt if I was even aware that there was a community of them in Kerman. I only started to study their dialect after I had been one and a half years in the place and that was probably soon after I first came to hear that they had a separate dialect.

On the other hand during my residence in Kerman I did, from observation of the facts, form very strong views regarding their communal isolation. That is a subject in itself. Suffice it to say that it is only in commerce that the merchant class of the Zoroastrians at all freely meet the Musulmans. They have no part in the communal, social or domestic life of the Muslims. I do not remember having ever met Muslims and Gabrs together except in the course of legal or official proceedings, as in bankruptcy cases.

It is stated by various authorities that previous to 1860 Gabrs were not even permitted to engage in trade. For long after that they continued subject to many legal disabilities and obligations, and to the present day there is in Muslim minds no question as to their exclusion from Muslim life and their inferior social status. On the other hand the Zoroastrians have their own separate communal life, emphasized by their own religious observances and ceremonial, their own festivals, and by the maintenance of their own schools and teachers, and the possession of their own language.

They are just as distinct from their Muslim fellow-townsmen as the Armenians of Julfa (Ispahan) are from the Muslims of Ispahan. But though the Armenians speak Persian when in the company of Muslims or Europeans he would be a bold man who would assert either that the Armenian which they speak among themselves is the same as the Persian of the Muslim inhabitants of Ispahan, or that the latter speak Armenian among themselves.

As regards the Gabrs of Kerman it is quite possible for Europeans, whether Consuls, Missionaries or business men, to reside and work for years in the town without realizing that the Gabrs have a language of their own so different from the ordinary Persian in general use that they would be quite unable to understand it. This fact I have lately attested by inquiry. It is quite natural, if one remembers that the

Gabrs speak only ordinary Persian in business and mixed society and that no Muslim speaks Gabri. As Professor Browne says, I doubt if any Muslim would fully understand it if he heard it spoken.

I may now proceed to sum up what I can say positively of my own knowledge about the speech of the Persian Gabrs and its relation to the speech of the Muslim inhabitants of the places in which they live ; and what I have more or less sound reasons for believing :—

(1) The Gabri spoken by the Gabrs of Kerman is quite definitely distinct morphologically and to some extent in vocabulary from the Persian spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of Kerman beside whom they live.

A few features in which Gabri differs from ordinary Persian may be mentioned in illustration. The list is of course in no way complete, but it is perhaps sufficient to establish the status of Gabri, as an independent dialect *vis-à-vis* Modern Persian and Kermani Persian :—

(i) The Agential Passive construction of the past tenses of Transitive verbs.

(ii) The use in this construction of pronominal forms possessing Agential force.

(iii) The forms of the Personal Pronouns (except the first and second plural).

(iv) The loss of the final consonants of the personal endings of the 1st and 3rd singular and 3rd plural of the present tenses of verbs (restored in the negative of the 1st and 3rd sg.).

(v) The forms of the verbal prefix in the present and imperfect tenses, *i*, *è* and variants.

(vi) The 3rd sg. forms of the enclitic " is " characterized by an *-n* e.g. *-un*, *-unè*, *-nè* and other variants.

(vii) The present base of the verb " to do ", *ker-*.

(viii) In certain cases Gabri *z* = Mn.P. *d*
,, *v* = ,, *b*
,, *v-* = ,, *g-*

(ix) Many differences in vocabulary :—

Gabri	*vōtmūn*	" to say "
	šudmūn	" to go "
	pènōrtmūn	" to take "
	niftmūn	" to send ", etc.

Kermani Persian shares none of these features except the loss of final *-d* in the 3rd sg. and pl. of verbs. It differs from Gabri further in the following points :—

(i) Accusative suffix *-a*.

(ii) 3rd sing. enclitic " is ", *a*.

(iii) Reduction of Mn.P. final *-ft* to *f*.

(iv) 2nd pl. verbal ending *-ēn*.

(v) The appearance of an intrusive *-t-* in the forms of transitive verbs before an accusative or dative pronominal suffix.

Kermani *mīziditiš* = " she used to beat her "
bigūtiš = " say thou to him ", etc.

(2) The Gabri spoken by the Gabrs of Yezd is in all essentials the same as that spoken by the Gabrs of Kerman.

(3) The Gabrs of Yezd and Kerman form the bulk of the Gabr community in Persia :—

According to figures given to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson in or about 1903 by the Secretary of the Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Tehran,[1] which were probably as near the mark as such figures can be in Persia, the Zoroastrian population in Persia was distributed as follows :—

Yezd and vicinity	between 8,000 and 8,500
Kerman	approximately 2,400
Tehran	324
Kashan	45
Shiraz	42
Kum, Ispahan and Sultanabad	18
Total about	11,000

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[1] *Persia Past and Present*, 1906, p. 425.

The following figures obtained by me in Kerman in 1917 are probably based on too high an estimate of souls per household :—

	About.	
Kerman City	2,300	said to have been enumerated in 1916.
Kerman District and villages .	550	
Yezd City	5,000	rough estimate.
Yezd District	5,000	
Tehran (including traders from Yezd and Kerman living in temporary quarters) . .	200	

The presence of Gabrs in Shiraz, Kashan, and Resht was also mentioned, but no figures were obtained.

Houtum-Schindler's figures for 1879 are smaller all round, but the items are in much the same proportion.

In all cases the number of Zoroastrians living outside Yezd and Kerman districts is very small, both relatively and absolutely. I have no reason to believe that the small communities in Tehran and elsewhere, which are in part not permanent, do not speak Gabri, but even if they do not that is comparatively a matter of small importance. It would not disturb the fact that more than $\frac{19}{20}$ths of the whole Zoroastrian population of Persia do speak one special language: Gabri.

The Muslim population of Kerman City numbers probably not less than 40,000 souls.

(4) I have no positive knowledge about the Muslim speech of Yezd, but I have every reason to believe that it is as much akin to ordinary Persian as the speech generally current in, say, the towns of Kerman and Ispahan, and therefore as much removed as theirs from Gabri.

I have never heard that European missionaries or business men had to learn a special dialect to carry on their work, and I have known several such who had lived in Yezd.

(5) It is safe to assume that the common language of the Gabrs is not identical with the Muslim speech of Yezd.

(6) I have heard nothing to suggest that the Gabri dialect, or anything closely resembling it, is spoken by the Muslims resident in any of the districts or villages of Kerman. Popular verse and individual words current in certain districts of the Kerman province give no evidence of any close relationship to Gabri.

(7) Of any dialects that may be current in the districts and villages of Yezd I have no personal knowledge.

(8) There are, however, features in the dialects illustrated in the K.P.F. III, i, particularly Nāyini which recall features of the same type in Gabri, e.g., the Agential Pronoun forms with the past tenses of transitive verbs, besides resemblances of vocabulary ; but it is not my business to discover affinities of Gabri with dialects lying outside the towns of Kerman and Yezd.

(9) In considering Gabri the fact is never to be lost sight of that it has been kept alive largely artificially, by a conscious exercise of will, in presence of, and subject to, the constant pressure of a dominant language, and this without the assistance of a written literature either ancient or modern.

I hope that Dr. Hadank will not regard this article as unduly "polemical". I have naturally dwelt chiefly on matters regarding which our views differ, and his criticisms have necessitated an active defence on my part.

Whether I succeed or fail in altering his views about myself and my work is a matter of small consequence, but I hope that he will allow himself to be convinced, or will himself take effective steps to ascertain the true facts, regarding the relationship of Gabri to Kermani Persian. Failing this he will be responsible for the propagation of error, which would be an unhappy offset to his arduous labours in the cause of truth.

I now proceed to give short typical specimens of (*a*) Kermani Gabri ; (*b*) Kermani Persian.[1]

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[1] I had prepared a specimen of Yezdi Gabri, but lack of space has prevented its inclusion. It will be remembered that I do not myself lay stress on any strong and certain distinction between Y.G. and K.G., so that from my point of view the omission is not a matter of serious moment.

From the specimen given it will be seen that Gabri is not the *olla podrida* that the forms quoted by Dr. Hadank from Berezin and Rehatsek might lead one to suppose, though the casual displacement of true Gabri forms by ordinary Persian ones is only to be expected in the speech of a bi-lingual people.

The verbal forms are consistent. An exception is found in the present subjunctive and imperative of the verbs " to come " and " to bring " which have the *bi-* prefix of ordinary Persian (instead of Gabri *vē-*), e.g. :—

Y. G. 1st sing. pres. subj. *bīyoiyè* } and variants
2nd sing. impv. *bī.ū* }

bi- also occures sporadically in other cases.

The Kermani Persian is taken from the text of one of the " Persian Tales ", No. 13, which according to his theory Dr. Hadank assumes to have been recorded in Kermani Gabri (v, p. LXXV, note 2).

It was written down by my wife, but had I made the record, it would certainly not have differed materially from hers.

This specimen fairly represents, I think, the speech of the lower middle-class Muslim of Kerman. It was dictated by a Kermani, Mirza Agha Ahmad, a man of education, whose own speech would be of a more sophisticated and literary style. It happens to contain no peculiarly " Kermani " words, and seems in most respects to be a debased form of " Ordinary " or Literary Persian. Another Kermani feature which is not illustrated is the ending *-ēn* for the 2nd person plural of verbs. A similar ending (*-īn*) is found in Bakhtiari and other Lur dialects, and I believe in Kurdi. Of the dialects illustrated in *K.P.F.* III, i, it seems to occur only in Samnani. It does not occur in Gabri.

The main phonetic characteristic of Kermani is the very common substitution of *i* for *a* (this occurs especially where the *a* is in unstressed or enclitic syllables ; a stressed *a* is palatalized to *i* when followed in the next syllable by *i* or *ī*).

This and the frequent loss of final consonants in certain verbal endings are evident throughout.

It is to be remembered that such short extracts display only a few of the peculiarities of the dialects which they represent. They do not exhaust them.

Since writing the above article I have been able to discuss Gabri questions with a Persian Parsee, Isfandiār Mobed Khudā Murād, who is the son of a Zoroastrian priest of Yezd and who was brought up in that town. Later he was educated in the C.M.S. school at Ispahan and became converted to Christianity. He has resided for some time in Kerman and has at least visited Tehran and Shiraz.

He confirmed the fact that the Dari of the Zoroastrians of Yezd and Kerman is essentially one dialect and is distinct from the Persian spoken by the Muslims of those towns. He professed a dislike for Dari and asserted that it was dying out. He wished himself that it should be given up as an inferior form of speech of no practical utility at the present day. Even from the point of view of secrecy it was of doubtful efficacy; they never knew how much a Muslim would understand of what they might say in it. He implied that it was not much spoken by Zoroastrians outside Yezd and Kerman, and stated that it was falling out of use in Kerman. It is never written.

He put the Parsee population of Persia at about 20,000, about 12,000 of these being resident in Yezd.

He said that the term "Parsee" was being generally adopted to denote all those of Zoroastrian origin. It had an essentially "national" connotation covering individuals like himself who had changed their religion, to whom the term "Zardushti" was not applicable.

All Persian Parsees, including the children, could speak ordinary Persian. In his own home they had spoken half Dari and half Persian. He admitted later, however, that it was possible that a small proportion of the women, say one per cent, cannot speak ordinary Persian.

Only the Zoroastrians of the higher ranks had access at all to Muslim society, but relations between the adherents of the two religions were tending to become freer.

I asked him about the *-mūn*, *-vūn* ending of the Infinitive. He asserted at first that only *-vūn* was used, but afterwards on reflection admitted that *-mūn* sometimes occurred as an alternative. One might say for instance :—

dīdmūn	*vōtmūn*	*nàštmūn*	as well as
dīdvūn	*vōtvūn*	*nàštvūn*	

I should consider that it is probably safe to regard *-vūn* as the typically Yezdi form.

He had no clear ideas about the morphological distinction of dialects and could only describe Muslim Yezdi as being " rougher " than Muslim Kermani, and Gabri as representing pre-Islamic " pahlavi ".

He understood and accepted specimens I read him from my texts of Y. and K. Gabri and Kermani Persian.

He spontaneously remarked that a large number of the Kerman Gabrs are of Yezd origin, implying that this would have affected the speech of the Kermani Gabrs.

He also stated it as a well-known fact that Zoroastrians had subsisted in Nayin, Natanz and such places up to a hundred years ago. This is interesting as giving further evidence of the popular belief of the survival of " Fire Worship " in Central Persia in other places than Yezd and Kerman until a comparatively recent date.

This belief is mentioned by Keith E. Abbott and Sir P. M. Sykes (as quoted by Dr. Hadank) and probably suggested to Zhukovski his hypothetical explanation of the resemblance he saw between Gabri and Kashaī. The belief in itself proves nothing, but it would warrant an investigation of the question, if such be possible.

Isfandiar Khuda Murad's expressed distaste for Dari and lack of interest in what he would call " vulgar " forms of Persian, detracted from his value as a witness in linguistic matters, and the disorientation of his mind by his European education and the adoption of Western religion and ideas have probably affected to some extent his general outlook.

I therefore preferred to make this separate summary of his views and statements and not to try to incorporate them in what I had already written.

SPECIMENS

The value of the symbols used in the following specimen texts is as explained in my "Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian", *JRAS.*, July, 1916.

Very roughly the correspondence with the symbols of the International Phonetic Association is as follows :—

My	I.P.A.
ā	aˑ (and a)
å	ǫˑ (and ǫ)
à	æ
a	ʌ
e	ə
ē	eˑ (and e)
è	ɛ (and ɛˑ)
ī	iˑ (and i)
i	ɪ
ō	oˑ (and o)
o	ɔ
ū	uˑ (and u)
u	ʊ

The following abbreviations are used :—

Mn.P. stands generally for Standard Persian as written and spoken by the educated upper classes of Modern Persia. No attempt is made to represent it phonetically.

O.C.P. is Ordinary Colloquial Persian, i.e. what one may hear in ordinary conversation, represented phonetically. It includes forms which would not be written. Definitely low-class speech I have indicated by "Vulgar Persian".

G. Gabri, or Dari.

Y. Yezdi Gabri (i.e. forms given by an authority who claimed to speak Yezdi Gabri, or described by Kermani Gabrs as Yezdi).

K. Kermāni Gabri (i.e. forms given by Kermāni Gabrs, or alleged by the Yezdi authority to be Kermāni).

Ker. P. Persian as spoken by the bulk of the Muslim population of Kermān City, more or less excluding the more cultured who definitely aim at speaking Literary Persian correctly.

It is to be noted that I do not claim to be able to apply these terms with rigid scientific accuracy. The things which it is attempted to define do not in nature exist secluded in water-tight compartments.

SPECIMEN A

KERMĀNI GABRI

THE STORY OF THE MUSHKIL GUSHĀ PEA

Extract from a Kermāni Gabri Text, dictated on 14th October, 1914, by Mullā Bihzād, son of Sām, Zardushti, of Kermān, by profession a school teacher.

Qasīda i Naxud i Muškil-Gušā mō.i bèda :

Mèrdè xårkaši bo der ahd i qadīm, xårkèšī šè kah vè rūj bi rūj èmr o mē.åš i xadoš rå bi faqīrī šè vedårnådè vè hīč waqt az xadumī tawaqqū uš na kart. Zīvna vīn jī az mo dunī šèda bo. Yèkī dōtèr mas vè rasā̊ uš dârta bo, kè xidmat i vīn šè kah. Hama dèm Xudå rå šè šukr hēkah va mašγūl i kår i xadōš bo. Waqtī bo tålē vīn zaf rasåd. Yèk rūj dōtèruš der xide tènhå bo, vè čumè uš nē.ixārta bo, ve uš na dârt kē vē.ixra. Būdī jaγerī az xadī hamsoiya.uš bah ītumåd šo paxåd. Dōtugē be būnē.ī kē vèšūt taš agōra šo xèdi hèmsoiya. xiyål šè dil xa kah, "yana jaγer paxa, šoiyad še tèm vē.ixra." xailī diluš šè vī.åst. Šō taš uš garaft. Yèk misqål az qalī.ē paxa, kè būduš šè pūz bo, še na dåd. Nå.umīd ōma xèda. Šau bo. Bideruš ōma az xårkèši xèda. Oš dīd dōtuš γustaxår gōšē.i xèda nāšta. uš våt : "čèrå hè fikrī nāštī ?" Uš vōt : "Pidèr, èmrūj èmsoiya qālī.ē.i jaγerī šo kah. Būdōš ōma è pūz i mè xart xaili dil i mè šè vī.åst. Šōyè ba būnē.ī taš garaftmūn, šoiyad yak lup um ātèn. Šō na dåd, vašna jī bōyè." Uš vōt, pider : "Yōs ma kūd. Èrdå kè šōyè kūlē.ī hīzma rå vēšter ikène, i pušt ikèrè, ibèrè vījår, hèråšè, nūn igårè xud i yakī jaγer. To vèpèš, vèxu, arzū dè del ber šūt. Mè xudum jī az bē-qūwwatī i ràh na šè raftè. čè vē.ikrīm ? Čårē.ī dârīm ; Xudå buzurg un." Mo šave rå xuftèn. Čūn suv bo, mèrdug šō dumbål i xårkèšī xa. Ō rūjè az ō zaf i tåle kè *rasā̊da bō xā̊r o īzmà vēšter az er rūj uš kènā̊d, kī pušt kèra, bē.ā̊ra šahr. Dīr waxt bo, šau bo, uš na tūnā̊st bēyā̊ra. xadōš ba berdē.ī kē oš bo šahr ōma. Kūlē.ī xā̊r rā̊ èmrūj ši nē.i vā̊rta, vē.irā̊ša, nūn āgōra, xèda ā̊t. Az šarm è iyā̊l e xada na šo. Ser ràh nazdīk i xada nàšt. Šau dīr bo az her rūj. Dōtèruš šo az ber xèda ber, vèvīna čīm bèda piderus xèda nē umda. Šah dumbā̊l vīn gertā̊d, uš dīd ser kīčē.ī ha, ve qèmgīn ōnè, poi.ī zā̊r nàšta. Uš vā̊t : " čèrā̊ mōnē.ī nàštī ? Èmušt, vēšīm è xada. Čèrā̊ der fikrī ?" Uš vā̊t : " Ferzènd, èmrūj xā̊r mī kènā̊da bo kē bī.ā̊re šahr vēhèrā̊šè. Dīrwaxt bo, um na tūnā̊st bī.ā̊rè. Xadom ba berdē.ī xā̊lī umdè. Az xajā̊lat tūxda nē umdè, nūn o čā̊štī bē.ā̊rè." Dōtèr uš vā̊t : " Pidèr, bīvrē vešīm axuftīm. Xudā̊ buzurg ha."*

Translation of the Kermāni Gabri Text

The story of the Mushkil Gushā Pea has been this : There was in former times a thorn-gatherer man. He used to gather thorns and from day to day he passed his life and existence in poverty and at no time entertained hopes from anyone. His wife too had departed from this world.

He possessed one big and grown-up daughter who used to serve him. He used continually to give thanks to God and was occupied with his work.

There was a time when his fortunes had reached a feeble state. One day his daughter was alone in the house. She had eaten nothing and she had nothing to eat. The smell of a liver which they were cooking kept coming from a neighbour's house there was.

The girl, on the pretext that she was going to get fire, went to the neighbour's house. She thought in her heart : " It is cooked liver, perhaps she will give me (some) that I may eat (it)."

Her heart longed for it. She went and got the fire (but) they did not give her a single *misqāl* of the fried liver of which the smell came to her nose.

Disappointed she returned to (her) house. Night came on.

Her father returned to the house from thorn-gathering. He saw his daughter sitting sorrowful in a corner of the house.

He said: "Why are you sitting there moping (lit. in thought) ?" She said: "Father, to-day (our) neighbour made fried liver. The smell of it came and affected my nose. My heart longed for it. I went on the pretext of getting fire (thinking) "perhaps they may give me a mouthful." They did did not give me any, and I was hungry too."

The father said: "Don't worry. When I go (lit. went) to-morrow I shall dig up a bigger load of firewood, put it on my back and take it to the bazaar and sell it, and buy bread and with it a liver. Do you cook and eat it (that) the longing (for it) may quit your heart. (But) I myself too from weakness cannot walk. What are we to do ? We have a resource, God is great."

That night they slept. When it was morning the man went off for his thorn-gathering. That day, owing to the decline of fortune which had come on him, he pulled up more thorns and firewood than on other days (lit. every day) to put on his back and bring to the town. It became late, night came on, and he was unable to bring them in.

He came himself to the town with the spade which he had. To-day he has not brought a load of thorns (which) he may sell and buy bread and come home. From (fear of) shame before his family he did not go home. He sat down on the road near the house.

At night he was later (of returning) than other days, and his daughter went out from the door of the house to see what has happened that her father has not come home.

She wandered about looking for (lit. after) him and saw that he is at the end of the street, and is sorrowful seated at the foot of the wall. She said: "Why are you sitting here ? Get up and let us go home. Why are you troubled ?"

He said: "Child, to-day I had pulled up thorns that I might bring them to the town and sell them. It became late. I was unable to bring them in. I have come back myself, emptyhanded, with my spade. From shame I haven't come to the house (as I was not able ?) to bring bread and breakfast."

His daughter said : " Father, come along and let us go and sleep. God is great."

They went home.

Notes on the Kermani Gabri Text

l. 1. *mō.i bèda*, *mō* " this ". *bèda* perhaps *ibèda*. *šè kah*, 3rd sing. imperfect of *kertmūn*.

l. 3. *rūj*, so pronounced, but written by Bihzad *rūž* روژ *šè vedårnådè*, 3rd sing. impf. of *vedårnådmūn*, causative of *vidertmūn* ‖ *divertmūn*, corresponding to Mn.P. cs. *guẕrān(ī)dan* from the intransitive *guẕaštan*. Script ودارنادِه.

l. 3. *hīč*, the ordinary Gabri form is *hēš*, *hèš*. *xadumi* " anyone ". Variant forms are : Y. *xudum*, K. *kudum*, *kudâm*, and *xadum*, also Y. *kōm*, K. *kum*. These frequently take the suffix -*i*. They are used as interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns and adjectives. They correspond to Mn.P. *kudām* (colloq. *kudam*) and also take the place of *kasi*. *zīvna* " wife ", also K. *zi.ūna*, Y. *zīvna*. *vīn*, Y. *īn* " that one ", " he ", etc.

l. 4. *šèda bo*, 3rd sing. pluperfect ; *šèda* ppc. of *šudmūn* " to go ", Y. *īšta*, also used by one, K. authority. *rasâ* " probably " = Mn.P. *rasīda* " fully grown ".

l. 6. *hēkah* for *èkah*, imperfect of *kertmūn*. This prothesis of *h* to the verbal prefix is common in K. The script here has هِهکَ.

l. 7. *tålē vīn zaf rasåd*, *tålē* is probably the subject.

l. 8. *ixārta bo*, pluperfect of *xārtmūn* " to eat ".

l. 8. *vē.ixra*, 3rd sing. subj. of *xārtmūn*. *būdi*, i.e. *būd i* or *būdī i*. *xadi*, for *xada i*. This contraction is usual.

l. 9. *ītumåd*, 3rd sing. imperfect of K. *umèdmūn* " to come ". Y. has *itomōdè* ; K. I think usually *itomaiyè*. *šo paxåd* pret. of K. *paxådmūn* : *pax*-, *pèš*- " to cook " ; Y. *paxōdmūn* : *pèš*-. v. line 20 below, impv. *vèpèš*. I have elsewhere recorded K. *vèpax*. The grammar of this sentence is questionable. *dōtugè* "the girl", K.Y. *dōtug* "girl", as opposed to K.Y. *dōt* (v, l. 14), K. *dōtèr* (l. 30) "daughter".

l. 10. *dil xa, xa* = Mn.P. *xud* "self", "own". Note the omission of the *iẓāfa*. *yana jaγer paxa.* I am not sure what *yana* is. My MS. has *ya na jaγer paxa* and the script يهنهِ جهغر پَخه *paxa* seems to be a passive pc. or adj. = "cooked", cp. line 11, *qalī.ē paxa.*

l. 11. *še tèm*, 3rd sing. pres. subj. of *dōdmūn* "to give" + *-m* "she may give to me". *diluš šè vi.å̄st* and Y. *vyōst*, etc., serve as the past tense of Y.K. *vau* "must", "ought", and of Y. *ō*, K. *ū*, "to wish," "desire."

l. 12. *qalī.ē paxa.* *qali* Ar.P. "frying in a frying pan", so "the fry", as in English we say "the stew".

l. 14. *γustaxå̄r* for *γuṣṣax^wār*. Script غصّه‌خوار.

The *t* in pronunciation is supported by another K. instance, and also appears in Kermani Persian, v. Specimen B, line 31. I have also, I think, in Y.G. *al qista* for *al qiṣṣa*. *nāšta, nàšta*, script نَشته.

l. 14. *hè* for the usual preposition *è* "in", cp. l. 16, *è pūz*. The script in both cases has هِه.

l. 17. *atèn*, script آتِن. This variant of the verbal prefix I have recorded as *a-*, *à-*, and *ā-* frequently with this verb *dōdmūn*, and with *garaftmūn* and one or two others, v. "Notes on Gabri", p. 458.

l. 18. *yōs* "anger", "grief", cp. Mn.P. *jūš*, K. *yōsnå̄dmūn*, Y. *yōsnōdmūn* : *yōsn-* "to boil", v.t., Mn.P. *jūšāndan*.

l. 19. *hèrå̄šè*, 1st sing. pres. (= fut.) of *hèrå̄tmūn* : *hèrå̄š-* "to sell". Y. *hèrōtmūn* : *hèrōš-*.

l. 20. *vèxu*, impv. of *xārtmūn* "to eat", but script وخور.

l. 21. *mè . . . na šè rafte* "I cannot go", *raftè* is a lapse into ordinary Persian. It should, I think, be *šōyè*. The verb "to be able" is *ša, šā* (invariable) followed by the preterite of the 2nd verb with personal endings :—

Y.K.	*mè ša kertè*	"I can do"
Y.K.	*må̄ ša kertīm*	"we can do"

In the negative I have Y. *na ša*; K. *ne šē* (or, as here, *na šè*). The Past Tense forms, also invariable, are: Y. *šustè* and *šōdè*; K. *šâstē, šāste, šustē*. The only Y. examples at present to hand are followed in all persons by the short form of the preterite of *kertmūn*, viz. *kah*, *ka*, which remains invariable. K. examples show *šâstē* followed by the ordinary preterite *kert*, *kušt*, etc., for the pret.; but for the perfect as followed by the pret. inflected for person. In the past tenses the pronoun agent is usually in the form used with the perfect: *mè mè*, *ta di*, etc. (not *mè'm*, *ta'd*, etc.).

Preterite.

Y. *mè mè šustè* (or *šōdè*) *ka* "I could do (it)".

Y. *šumâ do šustè* (or *šōdè*) *ka* "you could do (it)".

K. *mè mè šâstē kert mo kār râ* "I could (was able to) do this thing".

K. *šumâ dū šâstē kušt gyap i ajèmi râ* "you could (were able to) speak Persian".

Perfect.

K. *mâ mū na šâstē kuštīm gyap i ajemi râ* "we have not been able to speak Persian".

The combination *ša kert* and *šâstē kert* seems also, at least in K., to be used in the simple sense of "to be able" in which case it is accompanied by the Pres. Subj.:

K. *mè mè na šâstē kert gyap i ajemi bikūdè* "I was not able to speak Persian".

The above is to be regarded merely as a tentative statement, but I think it is correct as far as it goes.

l. 25. *uš na tūnâst* "he was not able". This implies an Infinitive *tūnâstmūn*, cp. literary Persian *tawānistan*; vulgar Persian *tūnistan*. I have also in K. forms which imply an Infinitive *tūnâdmūn*:

Pres.	*mè tūne*	"I can"
	ta tūnī	"thou canst"
Pret.	*mè mè* (*na*) *tūnoiyè*	"I could (not)"
	mâ mu (*na*) *tūnoiyīm*	"we could (not)"

These are followed by the Pres. Subjunc. as in O.C.P.

l. 27. *ā̊t*, 3rd sing. pres. subj. of *omodmūn* (*umèdmūn*) without the prefix, for the usual K. *bī.ā̊t* ; Y. *bīyōt*.

ll. 28–9. *šo az ber xèda ber* = Mn.P. *raft az dar i xāna bīrūn*. *čīm* properly *čīn* as in script. Mn.P. *čūn*, elsewhere *čīn ībda* (Y. form given as K.).

l. 30. *gertā̊d*, corresponding in form to Mn.P. *gerdīd* and in meaning to Mn.P. *gašt*.

l. 30. *ha* = Mn.P. *hast* ; *ōne*, and *un*, l. 23 = Mn.P. *ast*, O.C.P. *a*.

l. 31. *mōnē.i* "here". Y.K. *mōnè* "here", *ōna*, *ōnè* "there". *èmušt* for *hèmušt* "get up" from K. *hèmuštā̊dmūn* ; Y. *hèmuštōdmūn*. Note failure to pronounce initial *h* as in *èmsoiya*, l. 16. The script seems to be امشت and همسایه.

l. 35. *bīvrè*, 2nd sing. impv. "come !". An alternative for K. *bi.å* ; Y. *bi.ū*.

axuftīm, 1st pl. pres. subj. of K. *xuftmūn* "to lie down, sleep" ; Y. *xōptōdmūn* (and *xōptmūn* ?). Note the *a-* prefix.

SPECIMEN B

Kermani Persian

The Story of Fātikū

Extract from a Kermani Persian text, dictated in 1914 by Mīrzā Āghā Ahmad, of Kerman, by profession a teacher.

Qissa Fåtīkū

Fåtīkū duxterī būd. Piderī då̄št o måderī. Be mullå mīraft, mullā̊'š 'am duxterī då̄št, ismiš Fåtīkū būd. Šuver i mullā̊'š murda būd. Yē rūzī mūllā̊'š yé zerfī då̄ditiš, guf ke : " burō tū xōnitūn ve måderit bugū ' yuxūr sirka berā̊ ma bide '. Hamči ke xåst sirka bi.āra bugu ' nemīxâm ' ta az tū xum i haftumī. Vaxtī ke be haftumi rasīd o xam šud sirka verdåra pâš e bigīr bindåzitiš ve tū xum o ser i xum e bigīr o bi.å pīš i man." Ūn 'am hamī kār kerd. Ī šud bīmåder. Čan rūzī az ī muqaddama guzašt. Yē rūz mullā̊'š bē'š guf : " burō yuxūr siyådūna bekun ver serit. Šab vaxtī ke piderit mi.åya puf kun čiråγ e xåmūš kun o sīyådūnå re betukūn berīza tū åtišå. Piderit *mīge : ‘ båbå, inå čīz a ? ’ Bugū : ‘ åxa, gul i bīmåderī hamīn a. Måder ne dåram, serim šipiš zida.’ U vaxt piderit mīge : ‘ hålo če kār bekunam ? ’ Bigūtiš : ‘ yē zini bistūn ke berå man måderī bekuna.’ Mīge : ‘ kī re bistūnam ? ’ Bugū : ‘ burō yē jigerī bi.ār, verkaš ver der i xōna, her ke ōmad bār i avval seriš e zad vašiš hamūn e bistūn.”*

Īn ’am hamī kār kerd. Pidere jigarī istūnd o verkašīd ver der i xōna. Mullå vaxtī ke xaber šud verxiståd ōmad tū xōna īnå o seriš e zad ver jiger. Ū vaxt guft : “ Ēvå.i čī būd ke seram derd ōmad ? ” U vaxt merdika qisse re beråš nagl kerd o istūnditiš.

Måder i Fåtīkū båd az čil rūz gåv i zerdi šud, az tū xum ōmad bīrūn. Zin i pider gåv e dåd be Fåtīkū o guf : “ rūzå ī gåv e biber bečerūn.” Fåtīkū rūzå gåv mīburd mīčerūnd. Zin i pider rūzå pamba ziyådī mīdåd be Fåtīkū mīguft : “ īnå re birīs.” Ī bača būd nemītūnist pamba hama re birīsa. Šab ke mīšud zin i pideriš mīziditiš. Yē rūz nišes binå kerd be girya kerdan. Gåv ōmad pīš, pamba re xurd o dūmī beråš bīrūn awurd, ve rūzå dige her rūz gåv hamī kār mīkerd. Yē bārī yē gul i pamba.ī båd burd tu čå.ī. Ī binå kerd γusta xurdan o girya kerdan ke : “ če kār kunam, zin i pideram mīzinitam.” Gåv be zibun ōmad, guft : “ burō tu čå, yē dīvī ūnjō hast a. Vašiš salåm bekun o her kār be tū mīge ver àka bekun, o gul i pamba bisitūn bi.ār.” Ī ōmad o raf tu čå.

Translation of the Kermani Persian Text

The Story of the Fātīkū

There was a girl Fatiku. She had a father and a mother. She used to go to a (female) mulla. Her mulla also had a daughter, her name was Fatiku. Her mulla’s husband had died.

One day her mulla gave her a vessel and said : “ go to your home and say to your Mother ‘ Give us a little vinegar ’. When she proceeds to get the vinegar go with her. As she proceeds to draw vinegar from each jar (in succession) say ‘ I don’t want (that) ’ till (she draws it) from the seventh jar.

When she comes to the seventh and stoops to draw the vinegar catch her legs and throw her into the jar and cover over the top of the jar and come (back) to me."

She (Fatiku) too did this. She became motherless. Some days passed after this affair. One day her mulla said to her : " go and put a little coriander seed on your head. At night when your father comes (home) give a puff and put out the lamp and shake the coriander seed so that it falls into the fire. Your father will say ' Child what are these ? ' Say ' Sir, the flower (i.e. result) of motherlessness is just this. I have no mother, my head is infested with lice '. Then your father will say ' Now what am I to do ? ' Say to him ' Take a wife who may act as a mother for me '. He will say ' Whom am I to take ? ' Say ' Go and fetch a liver, fix it up on the door of the house, whoever comes first and strikes her head against it, take her '."

She (Fatiku) did this. The father got a liver and hung it up on the door of the house. Then the mulla when she heard of this got up and came to their house and struck her head against the liver. Then she said : " Ai wai, what was it that my head ached (i.e. has begun to ache) ? "

Then the man repeated the story to her and took (married) her.

The mother of Fatiku after 40 days became a yellow cow, and came out of the jar. The wife of her father (i.e. the stepmother) gave Fatiku the cow and said : " Take this cow away every day and graze it." Fatiku every day used to take the cow and graze it. The stepmother every day used to give her a lot of cotton and say to Fatiku " spin this ". She was a child, and was not able to spin all the cotton. When night came her stepmother used to beat her.

One day she sat down and began to cry. The cow came forward.

It ate the cotton and brought out a ball of thread for her, and other days (i.e. in the future) every day the cow did the same thing.

Once the wind carried a flock of the cotton into a well. She (Fatiku) began to grieve and lament (saying) " What am I to do, my stepmother will beat me ? " The cow found tongue and said : " Go into the well, there is a Dīv there. Salam to her, and whatever she says to you, do the opposite, and take the flock of cotton and bring it back."

She came and went into the well.

Notes on the Kermani Persian Text

l. 1. *Fā̊tīkū*, diminutive of Fātima.

l. 3. *dā̊ditiš*, this interjection of *-it-* or *-t-* between a verb and a pronominal suffix is a feature which I do not remember to have met with except in Kermani.

In Kermani it occurs constantly with the 3rd sing. of the preterite and the 3rd sing. pron. suffix, but it also occurs with other persons both of the verb and of the suffix. See in the present text :

l. 7 *bindā̊zitiš*	" throw thou her "
l. 14 *bigūtiš*	" say thou to him "
l. 22 *istūnditiš*	" he married her "
l. 28 *mīziditiš*	" she used to beat her "

elsewhere *či mīditam* " what wilt (lit. dost) thou give me " *guf* = *guft* ; so usually *raf* for *raft*, *haf* for *haft*, *juf* for *juft*, etc.

l. 4. *yuxūr* = O.C.P. *yak xurda.ī* " a little ".

l. 6. *verdā̊ra* = *berdārad*. The final *d* of the 3rd sing. pres. indicative and subjunctive is regularly dropped. *ver* is regularly used for *bar*, cp. *ver serit*, l. 10.

l. 6. *pā̊š e bigīr* = Mn.P. *pā.aš rā bigīr*. *e* for *rā* as the determinate accusative suffix, cp. *xum e*, l. 7; *čirā̊γ e*, l. 10, etc. *re* for *rā*, however, occurs after vowels, cp. *sīyādūnā̊ re betukūn*, l. 11. *hama re*, l. 27 ; *pamba re*, l. 29, etc.

l. 7. *ve tū* = probably Mn.P. *ba tū*.

l. 8. *hamī* and *ī*, for *hamīn* and *īn* as in lower O.C.P.

l. 10. *šab*, in lower class speech one would get *šau*. *šab* changes to *šib* when followed by the *iẓāfa*, so *šib i ārūsī* " the night of the marriage ". Kermani Persian is very fond of the sound of short *i*; *a* tends to change to *i* in unstressed syllables and even the *a* of a stressed syllable turns to *i* under the influence of a following -*ī*, of the *iẓāfa* and of a secondary unstressed *i*. Thus: *zan* "wife", "woman"; *yē zinī būd* "there was a woman"; *zin i* . . . "wife of . . ." *zad* "he struck"; but l. 28, *mīziditiš* "she used to beat her".

l. 11. *berīza*, 3rd sing. subj. for 3rd pl. *åtišå* plural.

l. 12. *mīge* = Mn.P. *mīgūyad.* Kermani Persian uses contracted forms of the present base tenses of *guftan*, *raftan*, *dādan*, *šudan*, such as are common in many places, probably everywhere in the lower class speech.

īnå čīz a, *a* as the equivalent of *ast*, also general in lower class speech, cp. *gul* . . . *hamīn a*, line 12. Here with a plural subject. *čīz* for *či čīz* also very common; *čī* or *či čī* is still less refined, cp. *čī būd*, line 20.

l. 17. *vašiš* "against it, on it", perhaps the same as the Gabri *višuš*, more often *šè viš*, or *vēš*.

l. 19. *verxiståd* = Mn.P. *berxāst.*

l. 27. *nemītūnist* = Mn.P. *namītawānist*; *tūnistan* is common everywhere in low class speech, cp. Specimen A, line 25, note.

l. 30. *dige* = Mn.P. *dīger.*

l. 31. *γusta* = Ar.P. *γuṣṣa*, cp. Specimen A, line 14, note, *γustaxår.*

l. 32. *mīzinitam* = Mn.P. *mīzanadam.* The *t* may here possibly be the *d* preserved.

l. 33. *hast a.* For *a*, cp. note, line 12. This duplication is common in Kermani Persian. *vašiš*, cp. line 17, note. Here it seems to be equivalent to Mn.P. *pīšaš.*

15th July, 1927.

Kandalānu and Ašurbanipal

(From notes left by the late C. W. H. Johns, D.D., Litt.D., Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with additional material from the Ashmolean Museum.)

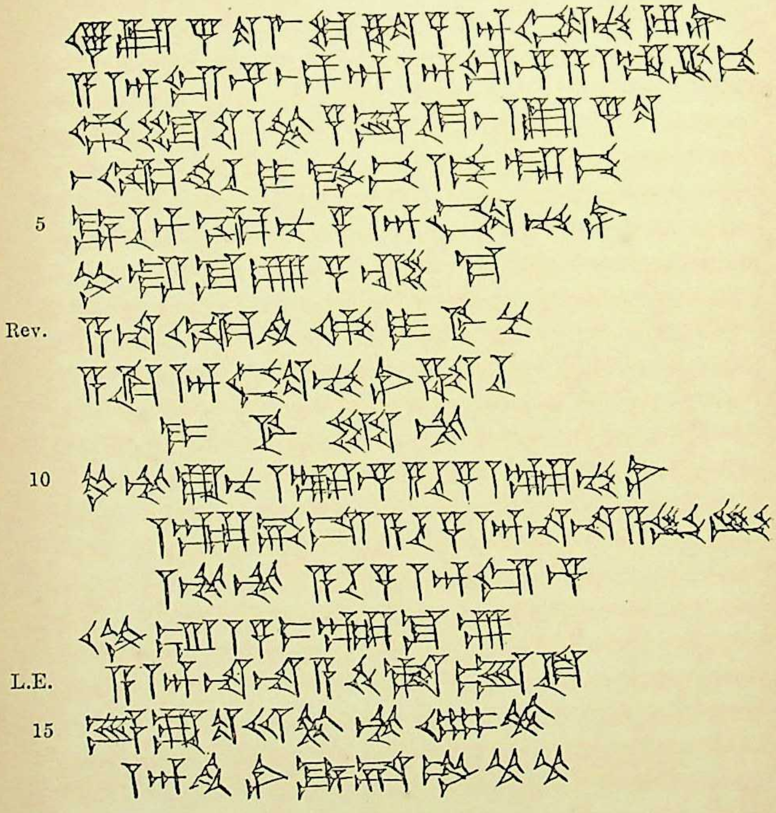
By S. LANGDON

AMONG the unfinished papers left by the late Dr. Johns, Mrs. Johns has found one which he was preparing on the dated tablets of the reign of *Kandalānu*, last Assyrian viceroy of Babylonia, who succeeded *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, brother of Ašurbanipal of Assyria. It is certain from a group of tablets from Dilbat, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Weld Collection), that *Kandalānu* (*Κινηλαδάνου*) and Ašurbanipal were the same persons; for this group of tablets from the same collection has the following dates: 1924, 487, *Belibni*, year 2, month Šabat, day 29; 1924, 489, *Ašur-nādin-šumi*, year 4, month Adar, day 2; 1924, 491, *Ašur-aḫi-iddin*, year 6, month Tebit, day 27; one in possession of Major A. H. Burn, C.I.E., Delhi, India, *Ašur-aḫi-iddin*, year 8, month Ab, day 8; 1924, 490, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 15, month Kislev, day 9; 1924, 485, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 19, month Nisan, day 14; one in possession of R. S. Cooke, Esq., Ministry of Awqaf, Baghdad, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 17, month Šabat, day 3; 1924, 482, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 15, month Kislev, day 9; 1924, 484, *Ašur-bāni-apli*, year 23, month Nisan, day 29; 1928, 1, excavated at Ḫursagkalamma in 1927 by M. Watelin, but dated at Erech, *Ašur-bāni-apli*, year 18, month Ululu, day 21.

It is obvious that Ašurbanipal on the Dilbat tablet and on the Erech tablet found at Ḫursagkalamma, can be no other than *Kandalānu*, his pseudonym in Babylonia, and that he lived twenty-three years after the death of Šamaš-šum-ukîn. The Ptolemaic Canon and B.M. 86379, Rev. 3, Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 24, give the length of the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukîn as twenty years. His name is written

𒌋𒌋 𒈬, i.e. *Šamaš-šum-*[*ukîn*], King's List A, CT. 36, 25, Rev. ii, 21. The twenty-third year of Ašurbanipal is probably the last year of his reign, and since he reigned twenty years as king of Assyria, and twenty-three as king of Assyria and

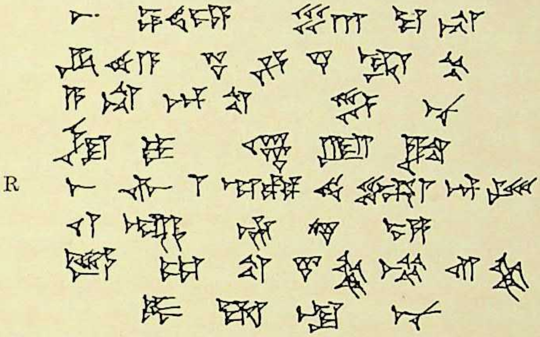
Weld Collection, Ashmolean Museum, 1928–1.


5
Rev.
10
L.E.
15

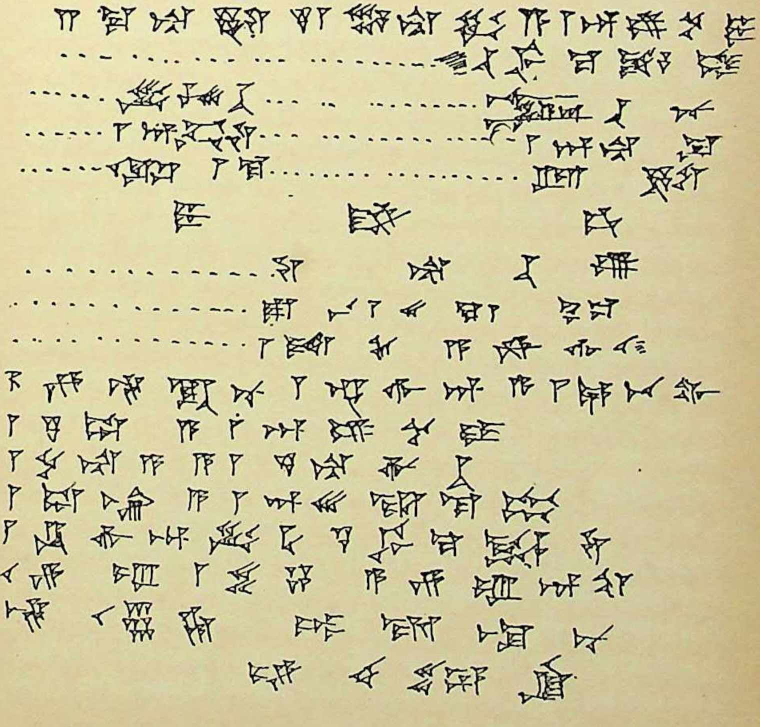
Babylonia, under the pseudonym *Kandalānu,* his reign lasted forty-five years, i.e. 668–626 B.C.

Among the notes left by Dr. Johns is a reference to an unregistered contract in the British Museum, communicated to him by Dr. Pinches, dated in the twenty-second year of *Kandalānu*, month Araḫsamna, day 2nd; dated at Babylon

B.M. 82-3-28, 163.



B.M. 82-3-23, 155.



and written by the scribe Marduk-eṭir, son of *Arrabtu*. Among Dr. Johns' copies of unpublished contracts in the British Museum I find also the following contracts :—

(1) 82–3–28, 163, *Kandalānu*, year 12, month Ṭebit, day 4th.
(2) 82–3–23, 155, *Kandālanu*, year 19. No month.
(3) 84–2–11, 435, *Kan-da*-[*la-nu*].

These three texts, copies of which by Johns are given here, are cited by Strassmaier as Nos. 15, 16, 17 in his article on *Kandalanu*, *Actes du Huitieme Congrèss international des Orientalistes*. In No. 2, line 10, the sign is *TUK*, as in line 14, i.e. *Ušarši-ilu*. From notes by Pinches, he cites also 81–11–3, 187, dated at Dilbat, reign of Kandalānu ; 82–3–23, 192, 13th year, Ṭebet 12th ; 82–3–23, 270, 15th year, Ajar 10th ; Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, Cat. No. 3, 10th year, Kislev 12th ; 81–11–3, 268, 18th year, 19th of Nisan, dated at Babylon.

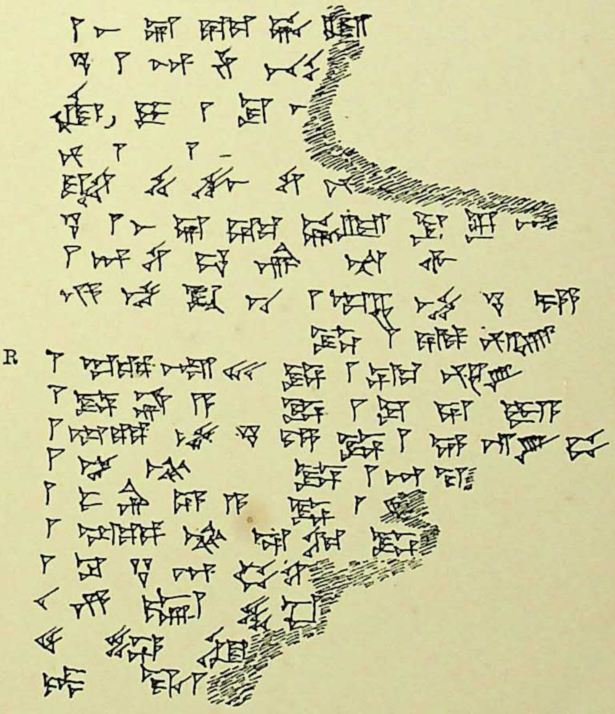
Now the unregistered B.M. tablet cited from Pinches has "At Babylon, Araḫsamna, day 2nd, year 22nd, *after* Kandalānu", which can only mean that Napolassar must have been in possession of Babylon as early as the 22nd year of Kandalānu, or already in 626 B.C., which would be the year of his succession to the throne, his first full year being 626/5 B.C. The Babylonian Chronicle B.M. 86379, Rev. 4, has *arki Kandalānu ina šatti reštîti Nabu-apal-uṣur*, "After K. in the accessional year of N." Hence Kandalānu, i.e. Ašurbanipal, lost the capital (Babylon) one year before he died, but Dilbat, only 12 miles south of Babylon, remained in his possession, and also recognized his son *Ašur-eṭil-ilāni*, whose stamped bricks recording his restoration of the temple of Urašā at Dilbat have been found there, Langdon, *OECT*., i, 37, and he even restored the coffin of Šamaš-ibni, king of the province Bit-Dakuri to that king's capital, although Šamaš-ibni had been a notorious rebel against Assyria, Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 43. See Meissner, *OLZ*., 1918, 220–3. Bit-Dakuru, the capital of this province, was near Dilbat, and not far south of Babylon. See also S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Senecherib*, pp. 19–20.

TRANSLATION OF W. 1928–1

(1) Seventeen shekels less $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel[1] of silver, of Mardukzēribni, son of Nergaleṭir, which is the possession of Nergaleṭir, son of Bêlikbi.

(3) From the first of Tešrit on one shekel the interest shall increase by $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel (monthly). (4) Arrabi his son is surety for Mardukzēribni. (6) No other creditor shall have right to it, until Mardukzēribni is paid.

B.M. 84–2–11, 435.



Witnesses Nabu-eṭir son of Nabuzēribni, Nabugamil son of Nanâ-aḫi-uṣri Nādin-šumi son Nergaleṭir and the scribe Šaṫap-Nabî-šû,[2] son of Nanâ-uballiṭ.

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[1] *ribûtu imaṭṭi*; cf. Oppert, *ZA*. 10, p. 49.

[2] Cf. *Šatpi-Anum*, Ungnad, *Materialen*, p. 90.

Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part IX and Index

By L. C. HOPKINS

ALL things must come to an end, and this series of papers, now running for ten years, is herewith concluded. This final instalment consists of an index, enabling a reader to find at once any character discussed in the series, with the year of the *Journal* and the page in the latter where the character appears. Naturally the years cannot pass without disclosing much that could be added or improved or qualified. But remembering that he who begins by revising may end by rewriting, I have left these studies as they were published in the *Journal*.

Certain additional space being at my disposal, it seemed desirable to fill it by bringing to notice an English rendering of a novel and stimulating conjecture advanced by Mr. Tadasuke Takata, in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, which affects both the characters 龍 *lung* " dragon " and 易 *i* " change ", " mutation ". Whether Mr. Takata's theory, ingenious and plausible, is destined to hold its own, may be uncertain, but without doubt it ought to be known and will have to be reckoned with. It will be found in *chüan* 98, p. 31 (under 易 *i*), and pp. 34–6 (under 龍 *lung*). To enable Takata's argument to be more readily followed, I add below several of the most characteristic variants of the archaic type, found alike on ancient bronzes and the Honan relics, merely noting that these forms do not there stand for the word " change " (now pronounced *i*), but most commonly for a syllable, once a homophone of the latter, but now having the very different sound *tz'ŭ*, and meaning to " bestow ", " grant ". The most ancient sound of both was, it seems probable, approximately " dig ".[1]

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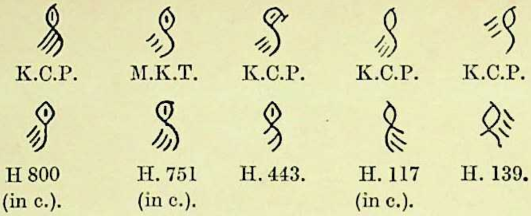
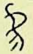
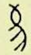
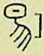
[1] See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p 82.



K.C.P. = Ku Chou P'ien. M.K.T. = Mao Kung Ting, 毛 公 鼎.
H. = Hopkins Collection.

Under the modern character 易 *i* the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien* inserts the two forms  and  as in his opinion the most faithful representatives of the original pictogram. They are quoted from the 革 易 幣 coin, cited in the *Ch'i Ku Shih Chi Chin Wên Shu*[1] of Liu Hsin-yüan 劉 心 源, and Takata then enters on an examination in detail of the character, and puts forward the very suggestive conclusions he has come to about it, as well as his conjecture as to the true sense of the word now pronounced *i* (or *ik*), and now usually meaning change or mutation. Let us listen to his thesis as he frames it.

"This form," he says, referring to the type in two variants given above, "issuing though it does from the hand of a Chou scribe, is thoroughly seized of the archaic significance (甚 得 古 意); it is the true shape of the character 易 *i*; Liu Hsin-yüan is wrong in deciphering it as 豕 *shih* 'swine'. The *Shuo Wen* explains the [Lesser Seal, ] form as '蜥 易 *hsi i*, "Saurian" or "lizard", or 蝘 蜓 *yen t'ien*, or 守 宮 *shou kung*, the Japanese Gecko. A pictogram, 象 形 *hsiang hsing*.' Which means to say that what was called the *hsi-i* was not at first the true *i* (蓋 謂 曰 蜥 蜴 者 元 非 眞 易), and the single word 易 *i*,—*that* was the true *i*.

"In my opinion the ancient I-reptile was the Dragon (古 易 蟲 即 龍 也). The form 龍 *lung* was originally a pictographic one. In later times it was composed with 肉

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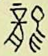
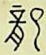
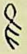
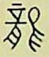
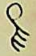
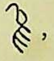
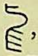
[1] 奇 觚 室 吉 金 文 述.

jou 'flesh', and with 童 *t'ung* 'immature beast or person', contracted, as the phonetic [quoted from the *Shuo Wen* in part], and written  and , where  is plainly the character 易 *i*.

"Hsü is in error when [in the *Shuo Wen's* analysis of the character 龍 *lung*] he writes, 'the figure of flesh flying, 肉飛形 *jou fei hsing*.'

"The *lung* or Dragon had two designations (名), one was written by a Pictogram, the other as a Phonetic Compound, and the terms for them in speech also differed.[1] And so in high antiquity, when P'ao Hsi [= Fu Hsi] made the Changes or Mutations [作 易 *tso i*, viz. the Eight Trigrams or 八卦 *pa kua*], he took their title from the I-reptile, 取名于易蟲 *ch'ü ming yü i ch'ung*. In later times King Wên of the Chou explained these Trigrams in the Annexed Sentences 繫辭 *hsi tz'ŭ*, and in these the author always uses the word 龍 *lung* 'Dragon', and not 易 *i*.[2]

"Thus what in Chou times people called *lung* 'Dragons' were the I-reptiles of high antiquity.

"Now if so, what was the shape and conformation of the *I?* In the [archaic] character  *lung*, the element  must at first have been written , afterwards corrupted to the Lesser Seal , and these forms [viz. the two at the commencement of Takata's note above] are in fact also the same, thus showing that the shape was like that of the 蜥易 *hsi i* 'Saurian', but with a horn (or horns). On a scrutiny [of the old character] the general shape [of the animal] can be descried.

"Further, the group of I-reptiles is not scanty in numbers, and the members of the group very commonly have the word

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[1] Otherwise and more simply expressed, there were two words *lung* and *i* for one creature.

[2] Thus at the opening of the *I King* or *Book of Changes* we find 潛龍 *ch'ien lung* "the concealed Dragon", and 見龍在田 *hsien lung tsai t'ien* "the Dragon appears in the fields".

lung ‘Dragon’ as a syllable of their name. In the 中 庸 Chung Yung Book of the *Li Chi* occurs the passage 黿 鼉 蛟 龍 *yüan t'o chiao lung* ‘great Saurians, alligators, and flood-dragons’. The *Shuo Wen* treats 蚖 *yüan* as the original form of the first character.[1] [The author] Hsü writes [under 蚖 *yüan*], ‘The *yung yüan* or *shê i*; utters its call through the snout 以 注 鳴 者.’ The character is sometimes written 螈 *yüan*. The *Erh Ya* has 蠑 螈 蜥 蜴 *yung yüan hsi i* ‘the *yung-yüan* (or) *hsi-i*’. In the *Records of the Chou* in the *Historical Memoirs* [of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien] occurs a passage running 龍 漦 化 爲 玄 蚖 注 蚖 蜥 蜴 也, ‘The Dragons’ fluid changed into a dark Saurian. Commentator's Note: The 蚖 *yüan* is the 蜥 蜴 *hsi-i*.’[2]

“Again, under the character 鼉 *t'o*, Hsü writes, ‘A water reptile; like the *hsi-i*, but larger and longer.’ The *San Ts'ang* (三 蒼) asserts that the *t'o* resembles the 蛟 *chiao* [so-called hornless Dragon], but is larger. In the *Supplementary Pê Wu Chih* (續 博 物 志), we read, ‘Another name of the *t'o* is the Earth-Dragon, 鼉 一 名 土 龍 *t'o i ming t'u lung*.’ Again, Hsü says of the 蛟 *chiao* that it is of the Dragon kind, 龍 之 屬 也 *lung chih shu yeh*. And Kuan Tzŭ (管 子) affirms that the 蛟 龍 *chiao lung* is the Divine Spirit of water reptiles, 水 蟲 之 神 者.

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[1] I do not quite see on what Takata bases this statement. The *Shuo Wen* contains both characters, but under neither does it make nor, so far as I can see, imply such an assertion.

[2] This quaint fairy story should be read in its entirety in Chavannes' French rendering in his *Mémoires historiques*, vol. i, p. 282, from which I quote part of his note 4. “Pourquoi les femmes étaient-elles nues ? c'était peut-être afin que l'écume surnaturelle entrât dans l'une d'elles et que le prodige fût ainsi exorcisé ; l'hypothèse est plausible puisque nous voyons que c'est cette écume, transformée en lézard, qui produit la grossesse de la petite fille du sérail. Cette écume semble avoir été le liquide spermatique des dragons.” In rendering into English the Chinese passage above cited I have preferred to use the term saurian instead of Chavannes' word lézard, for what the *Shuo Wen* says, under 蚖 *yüan*, that it utters its call through the snout, though applicable to the alligator or other large Saurian, is not so to lizards, small creatures like the house-lizard, the gecko, and the chameleon, which do not possess snouts, nor utter sounds. May I mention here that no species of chameleon is found in China.

"These passages should also be evidence in favour of the actual identity of the 易 *i* and the 龍 *lung*, though under different names."

Takata then adds that he has written a separate investigation into the *I* and the *Lung*, which therefore he need not here repeat. This separate research appears, in fact, under the very next character in his book, which is 龍 *lung* "Dragon".

This small essay of his well deserves an extended notice, but space is not available here either for the reproduction of Takata's views, nor for the presentation of the arguments for and against their acceptance, and there is a good deal to be said on each side. But I hope, if space hereafter should be forthcoming, to deal faithfully with the Dragon, and if the distinguished Japanese author has raised a reptile to the skies, I, it may be, shall draw a Dragon down—with apologies to the Poet Dryden for the misquotation.

Index to archaic Chinese characters studied in Pictographic Reconnaissances and other papers in the *JRAS.* from 1916 to 1928:—

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Chên 眞 . .	Genuine . .	1927	778–81
Ch'ên 晨 .	Dawn . .	1918	392–3
Ch'ên 沈 .	To immerse .	1917	784–5
Ch'êng 丞 .	Deputy . .	1924	417–8
Chi 即 (or Tsi) .	To approach .	1917	801–4
Chi 既 (or Ki) .	To finish . .	1917	805
Chi 祭 (or Tsi) .	To offer sacrifice	1918	399
Chi 己 (or Ki) . .	Self . . .	1924	421–7
Chi 耤 (or Tsi) .	Ceremonial ploughing by the Sovereign .	1927	773–4
Chi 畁 . .	To raise (obsolete)	1922	54
Ch'i 七 (or Ts'i)	Seven . .	1916	754–6
Ch'i 柒 (or Ts'i)	Seven . .	1916	756–7

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Chia 田 (= 甲)	Plate, scale, bud	1921	34–7, 42–4
Chiao 交 .	To join . .	1919	383–5
Ch'ien 千 .	Thousand .	1916	765
Chih 雉 . .	Pheasant . .	1916	738
Chih 彘 . .	Swine . .	1917	785–6
Chih 執 . .	To grasp . .	1922	50–1
Chin 盡 (or Tsin)	Finished . .	1924	429–30
Ching 京 .	Capital city .	1918	396
Ch'ing 卿 .	Nobleman .	1917	806–7
Chio 角 . .	Horn . .	1917	792
Chiu 九 . .	Nine . .	1916	758
Chiu 玖 . .	Quartz . .	1916	758
Chiu 舊 . .	Old . . .	1926	475–6
Chou 州 . .	Eyot, region .	1919	382–3
Chu 祝 (or Chou)	To invoke, imprecate .	1918	401
Chu 主 . .	Lord, to control	1924	431
Ch'u 出 . .	To go or come out . .	1926	476–9
Chung 中 .	Middle . .	1922	58–61
Chüeh 爵 .	Goblet . .	1917	781–3
Erh 二 . .	Two . .	1916	740
Erh 弍 . .	Two . .	1916	740
Erh 貳 . .	Two . .	1916	741
Fang 方 .	Region, side .	1926	479–83
Fêng 風 .	Wind . .	1917	377–9
Fêng 鳳 .	Phœnix . .	1917	379–82
Fu 孚 . .	To capture, a prisoner of war.	1924	412–3
Fu 𠬝 . .	To control, tame	1924	413–4
Fu 箙 . .	A quiver . .	1924	418–21
Fu 伏 . .	To crouch .	1925	455–6
Fu 負 . .	To carry on the back . .	1922	65–7

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Hou 后	Ruler, legitimate successor	1921	37–42
Hsi 卌	Forty	1916	762
Hsi and Hsien 洗	To wash, basin	1923	385–6
Hsi 奚	Menial servant	1924	409–12
Hsi 席	Mat	1926	469–70
Hsia 下	To descend, lower	1922	53
Hsiang 鄉	Village	1917	805–7
Hsiang 象	Elephant, like	1917	796
Hsieh 謝	To thank	1926	468–70
Hsien 晛	Sunshine	1918	395
Hsing 行	To go, pass	1919	371–3
Hsüeh 雪	Snow	1918	391–2
Hsün 旬	Decade of days	1922	63–5
Hsün 訊	To question	1923	386–90
Hu 枑	Cheval de Frise	1916	749–50
Hu 虎	Tiger	1917	799
Hu 胡	Turkic	1925	452–4
Huo 火	Fire	1917	787
I 一	One	1916	737
I 弌	One	1916	737–9
I 壹	One (also read Yin, q.v.)	1916	737–40
I 翌 or 翊	To-morrow	1917	788–91
I 伊	He; also a personal name	1918	393
I 易	Change	1928	327–31
I 抑	To press down	1918	410–7
I 邑	City	1918	417
I 已	To finish	1919	375–9
I 夷	The *I* tribes	1925	467–75
I 以	To use, cause	1919	380–2
I 台 (and T'ai)	I, me	1919	380–2

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
I 益	To overflow	1919	386
I 異	Strange	1922	55–6
I 彝	Certain sacrificial bronze vessels	1925	457–8
Jê 若	Compliant, thus	1917	793–5
Jih 日	Sun, day	1917	775
Ju 如	Like, as	1924	407–9
K'ê 克	To support, able to	1926	470–1
Kua 卦	Diagrams of divination	1927	786–8
Kuang 光	Glory	1917	787
K'un-wu 昆 吾	A name, ? vase	1916	752–3
Kung 弓	Bow	1917	780
Kung 龏 or 龔	To offer, proffer	1922	61–2
Kung 公	Public, duke	1922	62–3
Lang 狼	Wolf	1926	463
Lei 耒	Plough-handle	1927	771–7
Liao 燎	To make a burnt-offering	1922	53–4
Lin 霖	Continuous rain	1918	390
Ling 霝	Gentle rain	1918	390–1
Ling 陵	Mountain height	1926	462–3
Liu 六	Six	1916	753–4
Lu or Liu 陸	Plateau	1916	754
Mai 貍	To inter	1917	783–4
(Normally read Li = wild cat)			
Man 蠻	The *Man* tribes	1925	460–5
Ming 明	Bright	1917	776–80
Mu 莫	Not; evening	1918	395
Ni 麑	Fawn	1917	807–9
Pa 八	Eight	1916	757
Pa 捌	To split, eight	1916	757
Pao 豹	Leopard	1917	800
Pê 百	Hundred	1916	762–5

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Pei 犕	A quiver	1924	418–21
P'êng 朋	String of shells, associate	1917	382
Pi 鄙	Rustic	1919	370–1
P'i 匹	Mate, to match	1922	57–8
Pu 不	Not	1926	468
Sa 卅	Thirty	1916	761–2
San 三	Three	1916	741
San 弎	Three	1916	741
San 叁	Three	1916	741
San 參 (also shên, q.v., ts'ên, and ts'an)		1916	741–4
Shang 上	To ascend, upper	1922	51–2
Shên 參	The constellation of Orion	1916	741–4
Shên 申	(1) To stretch, (2) Name of a cycle sign	1918	418–22
Shih 十	Ten	1916	758–60
Shih 拾	To pick up	1916	760
Shih 矢	Arrow	1917	786–7
Shih 氏	Family name	1924	414–7
Shu 黍	Millet	1926	474–5
Sou 叟	Old man	1917	787–8
Ssŭ 四	Four	1916	744–7
Ssŭ 死	Dead	1917	793
Ssŭ 汜	River name	1919	374
Ssŭ 巳	Name of a cycle sign	1919	374–5
Ssŭ 厶	(Obsolete in this sound)	1919	380–2
Su 夙	Early	1918	396–8
Sui 歲	Harvest, year	1919	370
Tai 戴	To carry on the head	1922	56

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Tan 彈	Bullet	1917	780–1
Ti 帝	Sovereign Ruler	1926	465–7
Tien 電	Lightning	1918	392
T'ien 天	Heaven	1917	774–5
To 多	Many	1918	399–400
T'o 它	Other, burden	1918	422–8
Tsai 災	Calamity	1919	385–6
Tsao 早	Early	1925	458–60
Tsao 皂	Black	1925	458–60
Ts'ao 草	Grass, vegetation	1925	458–60
Tsê 昃	Slanting	1918	394–5
Tsu 俎	Table for sacrificial meat	1918	400–1
Tung 冬	Winter	1926	472–4
Wan 萬	Myriad	1916	766–9
Wan 卍	Myriad	1916	770–1
Wei 爲	To do, make, act	1917	797–9
Wên 文	Lines, ornament	1922	67–9
Wu 五	Five	1916	747–50
Wu 吾	I, my	1916	750–2
Wu 武	Armed force	1927	769–71
Yeh 也	A final particle	1922	69–73
Yen 燕	A swallow	1924	430–1
Yen 甗	Colander	1925	475–8
Yin 尹	Leader	1918	393–4
Yin 印	Seal	1918	409–17
Yin 因	To follow, cause	1924	428–9
Yin-yün 壹 壼 氤 氳 絪 縕 烟 熅	Blended, concentration	1918	402–9
Yu 囿	Park	1919	373–4
Yu 猷	Plan.	1923	383–5
Yu 猶	Still, as if	1923	383–5

Character.	*Meaning.*	*Year of Journal.*	*Page.*
Yung 雝	Lake, marsh	1917	791–2
Yü 昱	To-morrow	1917	788–91
Yü 聿	Pen	1917	795
Yü 雨	Rain	1918	390
Yü 玉	Jade	1927	782–5
Yü 毓 = 育	To rear, give birth to	1921	37–41
Yüan 元	Prime, chief	1926	464–5
月	Moon	1917	776

Pauskarasadi

By JARL CHARPENTIER

THE late Professor Buehler, in his admirable work on Indian palæography,[1] points to the name of an old species of writing, otherwise unknown, called the *puṣkarasārī* or *pukkharasāriyā*, and mentioned by Buddhist and Jain authors. He quite correctly connects this name with that of *Puṣkara°* or *Pauṣkarasādi*, an old authority mentioned by some grammarians,[2] Āpastamba, etc. But as far as I am aware, neither Buehler nor any other scholar has gone further into the possible problems connected with this name. Becoming slightly interested in this question, I tried to make a collection of the few passages mentioning *Pauṣkarasādi*, which are, unfortunately, not very illuminating.[3] Still it may not be wholly out of the way to present here the meagre outcome of my investigations.

The name *Puṣkarasādi* or *Pauṣkarasādi* is in some way connected with a form *Puṣkarasad*, but the connexion is by no means clear; nor does it seem quite clear whether the name *Puṣkarasad* really exists outside the grammatical literature. The *gaṇa bāhvādi* to Pāṇ. iv, i, 96, mentions *Puṣkarasad* as the source of derivation; but according to that *sūtra* we could only expect **Pauṣkarasadi* (and not °*sādi*), just as we get *Saumitri* or *Daurmitri* from *Sumitrā* and *Durmitrā* mentioned in that same *gaṇa*. However, the *sūtra* vii, 3, 20 (*anuśatikādīnāṃ ca*) deals with formations that seem to show *vṛddhi* in both the members of a compound [4]; and the *gaṇa anuśatikādi*, of course, quotes *Puṣkara-*

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[1] *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, i, 11, p. 2.

[2] Buehler has committed a slight mistake in saying that *Pauṣkarasādi* was mentioned by Pāṇini, cf. *infra*.

[3] For a preliminary collection of passages concerning *Pauṣkarasādi*, cf. also Pischel, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1903, p. 193 sq.

[4] Some similar formations are enumerated already in vii, 3, 19; but they are, according to our present philological opinions, misjudged by the Hindu grammarians as, e.g., *sauhārda* is not formed immediately from *suhṛd*, etc.

sad as belonging to the number of words that give rise to such formations.[1] But it seems quite clear that in *Pauṣkara°* or *Puṣkarasādi* the second member of the compound is to be explained in accordance with Pāṇ. vi, 2 (40–)41. Just as we have there *go-sādi*, which means something like "bullock-rider",[2] we have *Puṣkarasādi*, meaning originally "sitting on a *puṣkara*", whatever that means.[3] From *Puṣkarasādi* we have the derivation *Pauṣkarasādi*, which would, anyhow, be possible. But it seems more probable that *puṣkara* and *pauṣkara* mean the same thing, so that both forms could be used promiscuously. This also sometimes seems to be the case.

The *gaṇa yaskādi* to ii, 4, 63, also enumerates *Pauṣkarasādi*, which means that, if we derive this name from *Puṣkarasad*, its masculine plural should be *Puṣkarasadaḥ* (and not *Pauṣkarasādayaḥ*), while the feminine plural ought to be formed from the derivative itself. Finally, according to the *gaṇa taulvalyādi* to ii, 4, 61, the form *Pauṣkarasādi* cannot denote alike the father and son.[4] But as all these rules rest on the wrong assumption that *Pauṣkarasādi* is a patronymic from *Puṣkarasad* they need no longer detain us here.

In Pāli we find a form *Pokkharasāti* which should apparently be identified with *Pauṣkarasādi*.[5] Passages in the literature where this name occurs can be gathered from E. Müller, *JPTS.*, 1888, p. 57 (cf. Grimblot, *Sept Suttas Pālies*, pp. 339, 343). In the *Sutta Nipāta*, 594 sq., two pupils of the great Brahmins *Pokkharasāti* and *Tārukkha* [1] visit the Buddha in order to settle a point in dispute; these pupils claim to be well versed in the three Vedas, to be *padakas* (conversant with the *Padapāṭha*), grammarians (*veyyākaraṇa*), and to equal their master in the recitation of *mantras*.[2] Explanations of the name *Pokkharasāti*, wholly fanciful of course, are found in the *Paramatthajotikā* (ed. H. Smith), ii, 462, and in the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* on *Dīgha N.*, iii, i, 1, 15 (vol. i, pp. 244 sq.); in the second passage *Pokkharasāti* is said to have been a Veda-scholar and the "foremost Brahmin in this world" (*Jambudīpe aggabrāhmaṇo*).

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[1] Several of the words enumerated in this *gaṇa* are quite doubtful. Some instances are wrong too, as when *para-strī* is quoted as being the substrate of a derivation *pāra-straiṇeya*. For this is quite apparently derived from a word **para-straiṇa* (on *straiṇa*, cf. A.V., iv, 34, 2; Pāṇ. iv, 1, 87, etc.).

[2] Originally simply "sitting on a bullock (cow)", cf. *go-ṣādī* ("sitting on cows"), the name of a bird, *Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 24.

[3] *Puṣkara* here means either "a blue lotus", which is most probable, or "a white crane". But I know of no mythical person riding on a crane (cf. however, the name *Balākāśva*, *M.Bh.*, xii, 1717; xiii, 203). Of course, *puṣkara* as well as the synonym *sārasa*, "a white crane", could also mean *haṃsa*. In that case *puṣkarasādi* would mean either "sitting in the lotus" (*Brahmā*) or "riding on the *haṃsa*" (*Brahmā*).

[4] The same rule is found in the *Candravṛtti*, ii, 4, 122.

[5] Cf. M. Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1912, 2, p. 501. There is also in Pāli *pokkharasātaka*, "a species of crane, *Ardea Sibirica*" (*Jātaka*, vi, p. 539), with which cf. Skt. *puṣkara-sāda*, "a certain bird" (*Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 31). The words *puṣkara-sāda* and *°sādi* are related to each other in the same way as are

The Northern Buddhists instead of this use the form *Puṣkarasārin*, which probably owes its existence to some sort of popular etymology. In the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 620 sqq.,[3] there is a lengthy account of the dealings and discussions between the Brahmin *Puṣkarasārin*, who is said to have been a past-master in all the Vedas and sciences, and *Triśaṅku*, a king of outcasts (*Mātaṅgarājā*). Both persons reveal themselves as great authorities on Vedic lore, astronomy, etc. Besides there is, as already mentioned, the word *puṣkarasārī* as denominating an unknown species of writing. This word occurs in the *Lal. Vistara*, i, p. 125 (ed. Lefmann), and in the *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 135,[4] in enumerations of the various modes of writing, familiar to the Bodhisattva. In the former passage it is mentioned in the third place after Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, in the later one it comes between them.

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go-sāda and *go-sādi* (Pāṇ. vi, 2, 41). However, Mahīdhara (*Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 31) apparently read *puṣkarasādin* as he explains: *puṣkarasādī puṣkare sīdatīti kamalabhakṣī pakṣiviśeṣaḥ.*

[1] Skt. *Tārŭkṣya* (cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 391).

[2] The text has *jappe* with the v.l. *jape*; however, the meaning must be that of *jape*.

[3] Cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 205 sqq.; Kern, *Festgruss Roth*, p. 8.

[4] Cf. Pischel, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1903, pp. 193 sq., 744.

Pauṣkarasādi is quoted as an authority on grammar—or rather phonology—especially in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*. In v, 37, he is said to have endorsed the view that a *ś* does not become *ch* when followed by a consonant; nor is, in that case, a preceding *n* transformed into an *ñ*.[1] In v, 38, he is made to teach, with Plākṣi, Kauṇḍinya, and Gautama, that an *h* preceded by a *d* becomes *dh*, etc. (*tad dhiraṇyam*), which is, of course, a well-known and generally practised rule. But curiously enough the commentary on v, 42, tells us that *Śaityāyanādīnām* in the sūtra means Śaityāyana, Kauhalīputtra, Bharadvāja, Sthavira-Kauṇḍinya, and *Pauṣkarasādi*; and these five taught, according to the same authority, that instead of writing—as in normal Sanskrit—*arvāg ghy enam* we ought to write *arvākgh hy enam*, which does indeed look curious enough.[2]

The rule xiii, 16 (*pṛktasvarāt paro lo ḍaṃ Pauṣkarasādeḥ Pauṣkarasādeḥ*) is far from clear, though it seems to infer that after a "mixed vowel" (*pṛktasvara*), i.e. *ṛ*, an *l* should become *ḍ*, but the instances are by no means clear.[3] According to xiv, 2, *Pauṣkarasādi* taught the doubling of mutes when preceded by *l* or *v*, so that we ought really to write *kalppa*, etc.[4] And finally, xvii, 6, contains a rule concerning different modes of *svarita* and *anudātta*, which is brought back to old *Pauṣkarasādi*. It should be remarked that in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* this grammarian is quoted no less than five times—besides being twice mentioned in the commentary—which is more than any other authority with the exception of *Plākṣi*, whom we also meet with there the same number of times.

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[1] The instances, according to Whitney, would be *pāpīyān śreyase* and *ādityān śmaśrubhiḥ* (*Taitt. Saṃh.*, i, 5, 7, 4, and v, 7, 12).

[2] Personally I feel inclined to think that the whole thing is fairly simple. *arvākgh hi* is, of course, impossible, and only a conservative way of writing what ought properly to be *arvāgh hi*. This again simply means to express a sort of aspiration before *h*, the same as before sibilants (cf. *infra*).

[3] The discussion of this rule in *JAOS.*, ix, pp. 281 sqq., is very lengthy and tedious, but ends in a *non liquet*.

[4] This seems reasonable enough. But according to *JAOS.*, ix, p. 285, *Pauṣkarasādi* also wanted to apply, in this case, the rule expressed in xiv, 1, and consequently to write *kallppa*, etc. This enormity is restricted by xiv, 3.

Curiously enough the *Prātiśākhya* does not quote *Pauṣkarasādi* as the authority of the rule xiv, 12. For this is exactly the same rule that we find in the third *vārttika* to Pāṇ. viii, 4, 48 : *cayo dvitīyāḥ śari Pauṣkarasādeḥ*,[1] and which means that a tenuis becomes aspirated before a sibilant ; this means that we ought really to write *khṣīram, vathsaḥ, aphsarāḥ*, etc., according to what was undoubtedly at one time the real pronunciation.[2] The same rule is found in the *R.V. Prātiśākhya* CDXXX, in the *Vāj. Prātiśākhya*, iv, 119, and in the *Ath. Prātiśākhya*, ii, 6, but no author, with the exception of the *vārttikakāra*, ever mentions the name of *Pauṣkarasādi* in this connexion.

Passages from other grammatical works quoting *Pauṣkarasādi* are not known to me ; consequently, his name as that of a grammarian has only been preserved to us by Kātyāyana, and by the unknown author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*.

Now, *Puṣkara* (or *Pauṣkara-*) *sādi* must also have been an authority on sacred law, as he is quoted as an authority by at least two well-known Brahmin law-givers. Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, i, 6, 19, 7, gives the following rule : *śuddhā bhikṣā bhoktavyaikakuṇikau kāṇvakutsau tathā puṣkarasādiḥ*, which means that "pure food may be eaten when given as alms according to Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa, and also according to Puṣkarasādi ".[3] And in the same text, i, 10, 28, 1, we find the following : *yathā kathā ca paraparigraham abhimanyate steno hi bhavatīti kautsahārītau tathā kaṇvapuṣkarasādī*, which seems to mean that "he who, under any conditions whatsoever, covets another man's possessions is a thief; thus Kautsa and Hārīta as well as Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi."[1] However, the readings do not seem to me to be quite well established. In the first passage one manuscript (G [1]) reads *kāṇvapuṣkarasādī*, while in the second one four manuscripts (Md.; N.U.; G [1]; G.U. [2]) read *kāṇva* (instead of *kaṇva*°) *puṣkarasādī*.[2] None of these manuscripts is admittedly too good;[3] but still I do not hesitate to suggest that in i, 6, 19, 7, the original reading was something like *ekakuṇikau tathā kāṇvapuṣkarasādī*, and in i, 10, 28, 1, simply *tathā kāṇvapuṣkarasādī*. This, however, matters little to us at the present moment. It is more important to notice that the form of the name with which Āpastamba was familiar was *Puṣkarasādi*, and not as usually *Pauṣkarasādi*.

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[1] Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, 400. 423 ; Kielhorn, *IA.*, xvi, 104.

[2] On questions connected with this phonetic rule, cf. e.g. Benfey, *Vollst. Gramm.*, i, p. 26 (cf. p. 38) ; Ascoli, *Kritische Studien*, p. 260, n. ; Whitney, *JAOS.*, vii, 404 ; ix, 298 sq. ; Jacobi, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf.*, xxv, 603 sq. ; Kirste, *VOJ.*, iv, 44 ; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. 132, and especially Johansson, *Shāhbāzgarhi*, ii, p. 21 sqq.

[3] Cf. Buehler, *SBE.*, ii, p. 70.

Closely connected with the school of Āpastamba is that of Hiraṇyakeśin.[4] Consequently we are scarcely astonished to find our author quoted also by that school. In Hiraṇyakeśin's *Gṛhyasūtra*, i, 6, 6 sqq., we find the rules for teaching the Brahmin boy the *Sāvitrī* at his initiation. Hiraṇyakeśin himself thinks that if the future *brahmacārin* has had no previous teacher he should wait for three days ere the holy formula be repeated to him, but *Pauṣkarasādi* was of a different opinion, as is evident from i, 6, 8, which runs: *sadyaḥ Pauṣkarasādiḥ*.[5]

Finally we find *Pauṣkarasādi(n)* (or *Puṣkarasārin*) as an author of astronomical works. A fragment of such a work ascribed to him was edited from the Weber MSS. by the ate Dr. Hoernle,[1] but is of no special interest to us here. It does, however, tally with the tradition of the *Divyāvadāna*, according to which *Puṣkarasārin* was a great authority on the *Jyotiṣa*.

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[1] Cf. Buehler, l.c., ii, p. 87.

[2] G.U. [1] has the senseless reading *kaṇvapuṣkarasādiḥ*.

[3] Cf. Buehler's edition of the *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra*, p. 1 sq.

[4] Cf. Buehler, *SBE.*, ii, pp. xvii, xxiii sq.; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, i, p. 238.

[5] All the manuscripts read *Pauṣkarasādiḥ*, but the late Dr. Kirste introduced the reading *Puṣkaṛa*° with the remark "but see the comm." What this means I am at a complete loss to understand. For not only does *Mātṛdatta* himself read *Pauṣkara*°, but he also expressively denounces *Puṣkara*° as being a false reading (*apapāṭha*), cf. Kirste's edition, p. 105. However, the Grantha MS. of Hiraṇyakeśin perused by Kirste after the publication of his text, undoubtedly reads *Puṣkarasādi* (cf. *Sitz. ber. Wiener Akad. Wiss.*, 1891, 4, p. 7).

It is obvious that the grammarian *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*°) *sādi* was not known to Pāṇini, or at least has not been quoted by him as a grammatical authority. But he is well known to the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, who apparently belongs to a later date than the greatest amongst Indian grammarians.[2] He is also known to Kātyāyana, the author of the *vārttikas* to Pāṇini's grammar. And an authority on religious law, called *Puṣkarasādi* or *Pauṣkarasādi*, and who may well have been identical with the grammarian, has been quoted by Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin. From these coincidences one possible conclusion may be drawn. We know, from the testimony of his successor Patañjali, that Kātyāyana was a *dākṣiṇātya* ; and we likewise know that Āpastamba—and consequently also Hiraṇyakeśin—belongs to the South. As for the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, nothing absolutely certain is known about the land of his birth. But it has been suggested, with great probability, that several otherwise unknown authorities quoted by him belong to the Deccan.[3] The obvious conclusion is that *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*°)*sādi* was an old grammarian or law-giver who also had his home in the South, possibly in the Deccan.

As for the date of Pāṇini, I have suggested, some time ago, that it should be placed somewhere about 500 B.C.,[4] and I feel more and more convinced that such a suggestion is mainly correct. It is too well known to be repeated here that Goldstücker, one of the greatest authorities on Sanskrit grammar ever living, wanted to place his date still further back in time ; but it may be well to suggest that he lived just about the period when the Persians began to administer the North-Western Frontier Province and the valley of the Indus. Kātyāyana, the *vārttikakāra*, may well be a couple of centuries younger, and the time of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, and the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* may easily coincide with a date somewhere about 400–200 B.C.—if not later. If, then, *Pauṣkarasādi* lived somewhat later than Pāṇini—which is, of course, not wholly sure, as a Southern grammarian need not necessarily have been known to the great *Śālāturīya*—his date may have been something like 400 B.C., or even somewhat earlier.

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[1] *JASB.*, vol. lxii, i (1893), p. 9 sqq. Cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, iii, p. 557.

[2] Cf. Liebich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, p. 47 ; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, iii, p. 382, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Liebich, l.c., p. 47.

[4] Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik.*, ii, 147 sqq.

Of the mode of writing ascribed to *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*°) *sādi* we, unfortunately, know absolutely nothing. But the following suggestion may perhaps not seem altogether too hazardous.

In North-Western India the Persians introduced, at their conquest,[1] an Aramaic alphabet, which, slightly modified according to the necessities of Indian languages, is known to us by the name of *Kharoṣṭhī*. This, according to my opinion, is the *lipi* which is called by Pāṇini *yavanānī*, the writing of the Yavanas, i.e. the Westerners.[2] This is the only mode of writing known to Pāṇini, and as far as we are aware it never penetrated into Central or Southern India. But in the South—say in the Deccan proper—there lived at one time (possibly in the fifth century B.C.) a Brahmin grammarian called *Pauṣkarasādi* (or *Puṣkarasādi*) who perpetrated some sort of modification of a foreign alphabet according to Indian needs. This alphabet then became known as the *pauṣkarasādī lipi*, and perhaps spread from its original home towards different directions.

But the name of the inventor of this alphabet, *Pauṣkara-*

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[1] The North-Western Provinces may first have been conquered by Cyrus, and then reconquered by Darius shortly after 520 B.C. (Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, ii, 147 sqq.)

[2] Cf. *Festgabe H. Jacobi*, p. 277, n. 4 ; *BSOS.*, iv, 343. It is, of course, not absolutely sure that Kātyāyana's *yavanānī lipyām* likewise applies to Pāṇini.

sādi, soon fell into oblivion. And people then began to interpret the name as the "writing invented by Puṣkarasad", i.e. Brahmā.[1] Such an idea was, of course, easily fostered by the fact that Brahmā was believed to be, from all eternity, the author of the *śruti*, and consequently he ought also to have been the inventor of everything that had to do with writing and literary occupations. The consequence was that the writing hitherto known as the *pauṣkarasādī lipi* became commonly known as the *brāhmī lipi*. But in literary works the old name was preserved besides the new one, though its original meaning had already been completely forgotten.[2]

The consequences of these suggestions are obvious. If there be anything at all in them then, of course, the opinion of Buehler concerning the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet would have to be thoroughly revised. For neither could, in that case, the Brāhmī have been introduced into India at such an early date as about 800 B.C.[3] nor could it have been derived from a Northern Semitic alphabet—e.g. that found in the inscriptions of King Meša. It is, however, quite clear that Buehler's date is wholly fanciful, as the works on which he founded such a suggestion are certainly by no means as old as he then thought. We must always keep in mind that the oldest inscriptions in which the Brāhmī is found used only belong to the middle of the third century B.C. And though we must admit that at an earlier time this alphabet was apparently written βουστροφηδόν—and still earlier from right to left—it is scarcely needed to suppose that this development would have occupied a period of more than half a millennium. Nor has Buehler, ingenious though his conclusions are, ever *proved* that Brāhmī was derived from an alphabet closely connected with that of the Meša inscriptions.

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[1] It is, unfortunately, unknown to me at what time Brahmā was first thought of as being born from and sitting in the lotus. The epithets such as *abjaja*, *padmayoni*, etc., and the myth itself do not seem to belong to the earliest parts of the epics. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 191. However, in the Brāhmaṇas the Creator (*Prajāpati*) is seated on a lotus-leaf; and this idea does not seem to be foreign even to the aborigines of India (cf. *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 129).

[2] It must be remembered that the name *brāhmī* (*lipi*) is, as far as we know, a rather late one. The oldest works which are acquainted with it seem to me to be the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, which may well belong to one of the first centuries of our era (cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, ii, 193, 199 sq.). But it may be remembered that the enumerations of different alphabets also contain that of the *Hūnas*, and may be considerably much younger. The Jain works which mention the *brāhmī* are of quite uncertain date.

[3] Cf. Buehler, l.c., p. 18 sq.

My hypothesis would instead, lead to the conclusions mainly endorsed by Taylor,[1] viz. that the Brāhmī alphabet is the outcome of the importation into India of a South Arabian mode of writing; but, unfortunately, such an assertion could only be proved by a scholar equally at home in Indian and Semitic palæography, and the present writer can lay no claim whatsoever to either. This South Arabian alphabet would, in that case, have been introduced into India by means of commercial intercourse, and it would have made its first appearance at the great Western ports of yore such as Broach or Sopāra.[2] But I am wholly at one with Buehler [3] in thinking that only a learned Brahmin (or Brahmins) could have modelled that Semitic alphabet into the pliant and admirable means of expressing Indian languages that is the Brāhmī already at its very first appearance. And personally I should venture to think that the Brahmin who originally performed this great feat was called *Pauṣkarasādi* or *Puṣkarasādi*, and was a grammarian and law-giver of Deccanese origin. His date I should venture to place somewhere in the fifth century, or perhaps about 400 B.C.

I am well aware that this is perhaps only a web of idle speculations. But of this at least I feel certain that the theories of Buehler concerning the origin and date of Brāhmī, which seem to have become the generally accepted ones, are somewhat in need of revision.

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[1] Cf. W. Max Müller, *Orient. Lit. Zeit.*, 1912, col. 541 sqq., who also pleads for a South Arabian origin of the Indian alphabets, but whose opinions are otherwise rather confuse.

[2] On this place, cf. *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 111 sqq.

[3] L.c., p. 18.

Brother Jordan of Sévérac

BY A. C. MOULE

THE late Monsieur Henri Cordier's parting gift to students of the East was his edition of the *Mirabilia* of the Dominican Brother Jordan of Sévérac. This was nothing less than a complete facsimile of the unique manuscript of the *Mirabilia* which is now in the British Museum. The facsimile is accompanied with an Introduction, a French translation and notes, and a transcript of the Latin text.[1] The transcript is little more than a copy of that of 1839,[2] and students will be wise to read the Latin text from the facsimile. But it is not my purpose here to review or criticize the book. Cordier, like Yule before him, thought it worth while to print in addition to the *Mirabilia* such other fragments of Jordan's writing as survive. Yule published versions of two letters by Jordan in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866, and Cordier prints the Latin text of these same letters (one of them twice over) in his Notes Préliminaires and adds to them two texts of another letter which is attributed first to Bartholomew, Custos of Tauris, and secondly to Francis of Pisa. All these texts are taken at second-hand from the *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa* by G. Golubovich, O.S.F. These four letters, which may in fact be reduced to two and part of a third, are concerned with the martyrdom of four Franciscan Brothers at Tana near Bombay in April, 1321. This martyrdom seems to have roused extraordinary interest at the time. It is described at length by Odoric, who passed Tana shortly afterwards and carried some of the bones of the Martyrs to Ch'üan-chou in China for burial. There is a long account (attributed to Odoric) in the unpublished Chronicle from which the letters of John of Monte Corvino are taken; a short and seemingly independent account is to be found in the Chronicle of Paulinus of Venice. The earliest account to reach the West was that given by Bartholomew, who enclosed a copy of Jordan's first letter and reported the story as told him by Jordan's messenger, a young Genoese merchant. Finally the longest account of all is in an appendix to the *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, and of this account nearly half consists of extracts from letters of "Brother Jordan the Preacher".[1] These extracts reached the compiler of the

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[1] *Les Merveilles de l'Asie par le Père Jourdain Catalani de Sévérac* par Henri Cordier, Paris, Geuthner, 1925. *Mirabilia Descripta*, by Henry Yule, Hakluyt Society, 1863. The MS. is now marked Add. 19513.

[2] *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, tome iv, 1839, the text transcribed and edited by Baron Coquebert de Montbret. The following are a few examples of the Baron's errors which reappear in the new edition: p. 110, *for* ex quibus *read* est quod ; p. 111, *for* dietas fere V [*sic*] *read* dietas fere. l. ; *for* manutegnii *read* manutergii (both Yule and Cordier translate "on their sleeve" ("sur leurs manches") *for* "instead of a towel"); *for* occidentales *read* omnes ; p. 112, *for* ullatenus *read* nullatenus ; *for* sufficiet circiter *read* sufficeret comuniter ; p. 113, *for* hoa *read* litera, *for* spittaci et *read* psitaci id est ; p. 115, *for* eximiæ *read* extra mire, *for* aliter *read* animal ; p. 119, *for* ales——alitis *read* animal——animalis ; p. 122, *for* Mari Nigro *read* mari nostro, etc. Nevertheless the debt we owe to M. Cordier for his book remains very great.

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[1] The references for Jordan's writings other than the *Mirabilia* are as follows: The " First Letter " is in these MSS., British Museum, Nero A 9, fol. 99; Paris, Bib. Nat., Latin 5006, fol. 182r°, v°; Assisi, Comunale MS. 341, fol. 134v°; and (in part) MS. 329, fol. 186r°, v°. It was printed from the Paris MS. (not quite correctly) by Quétif, *Scriptores Ordinis Prœdicatorum*, i, pp. 549, 550, and from the London and Assisi MSS. (again with small inaccuracies) by G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, ii, pp. 69, 70, 113; and translated by Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iii, pp. 75–8, and by F. Balme, in *Année Dominicaine*, 1886, pp. 24, 25. The " Second Letter " is included among the extracts from Jordan's letters printed below from the *Chronica Generalium*, where they are scattered over fol. 182r°–187r° of the Assisi MS. 329. It was first printed as a separate letter by Wadding in *Annales Minorum* (2nd ed., tom. vi, pp. 359–61) and translated by Yule and Balme as above. The translation which accompanies the transcript below is slightly expanded from the intervening extracts and other sources in order to make the extracts from Jordan coherent. The whole text of the *Cronica Generalium* carefully edited by the College of S. Bonaventura appeared in *Analecta Franciscana*, iii, 1897, where the Martyrdom, of which there appear to be five manuscripts, occupies pp. 597 to 613. The fact that this text was not used by Cordier either in 1914 or in 1925 justifies the printing of the fragments of Jordan here direct from the MS. 329. Cf. also "Cathay and the Way thither" in *The New China Review*, iii, 1921, pp. 216–28.

Chronicles in a letter from Francis of Pisa, as will be seen below, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that they are genuine extracts from letters written by Jordan from India, and they are transcribed here from photographs of the Assisi MS. 329 which I owe to the kindness of the Franciscan Fathers M. Bihl of Quaracchi and E. Tannitto of Assisi.

TEXT

ex epistolis fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum socii 182a
sanctorum.

Ibi ergo per dies viii. morantes persuaserunt predicti christiani quod aliquis ex nobis quinque iret in parroth ciuitatem vbi plurimi nomine christiani erant set non baptizati. ut sic in fide christi instruerentur et post baptizarentur. Concilio igitur omnium ego frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum cum persicam linguam plenius scirem predictum iter ad tales homines baptisandos assumpsi. accipiens etiam mecum duos seculares christianos in socios quorum vnus in persicam et in indianam linguam optime expertus se mihi pro interprete optulit ascendentes ergo nauiculam paruam deuenimus ad ciuitatem quandam nomine superam. vbi. hedificata condam erat ecclesia pulcra per beatum thomam apostolum set destructa a paganis alia fuit ibi per christianos erecta. Ibi ergo ego dictus predicatorum frater pauperculus usque ad .xx^{ti}. baptisaui et eorum confessionem audiui et sacram conmunionem eis dedi. Post dies vero .xvi. proficisci cupiens ad optatam paroth ciuitatem nauigium procuraui Set ecce subito mirantibus cunctis in serenitate optima lignum ipsum ascendens iuxta litus antequam iter assumerem profundatum est illud lignum nichil tamen passi mali. Stupens ergo de tanto prodigio et ignorans quid angelus sathane circa minores quos in tana dimiseram ageret suspicatus nichilominus ad scribendum eis per nuncium specialem me posui. Et contra morem ignorans quid dicerem scribere cepi. Reuerendis patribus fratribus thome de tolentino iacob de padua petro de senis et demetrio preconibus gloriosis et cetera. Et per illos duos socios christianos eis misi. Et erectis in celum luminibus in prefata ecclesia orabam suspiriosius ut sociorum meorum fratrum actus dirigeret |
dominus ihesus christus. Erat autem feria .vi^{ta}. ante ramos 182b
palmarum. et die precedenti facta fuerunt que dicturus sum

de morte fratrum sanctorum que penitus ignorabam. nocte vero sequenti subito a christianis excitatus suaserunt me fugere asserentes meos socios sanctos captos esse. at ego in bono ihesu confisus prompte respondi. Absit ut fugiam et meos socios sic vinctos relinquam. Ibo ergo concitus tanam festinanter. et coram mellico promptus astabo. Et quia linguam persicam plus ceteris sum expertus ad interrogata responsa dabo. Assumens igitur iter versus tanam. veni ad quandam casale vbi reperiens socios christianos quos cum literis miseram mirari cepi cur tanam non iuissent Set cum uultus eorum et aliorum plurium turbatum aspicerem petere cepi quenam noua haberent. At illis formidantibus mihi narrare rugiente me clamore magno super eos affuit qui diceret socios meos sanctos esse interemptos. Talis autem fuit modus et processus ipsorum passionis

ex epistola fratris iordani predicatoris.

Tunc cadinus respondit. sacerdotes tui. scilicet christiani fratres predicti venerunt et ad me tuam causam deducis ? |
182c At illa. linguam nostram non bene noueru[n]t et ideo inter me et virum meum iudicare nescirent. Verbum autem recipiens sarracenus quidam de alexandria nomine osep dixit quod fratres franci id est latini essent reuera homines maxime ⟨et⟩[1] docti in scripturis et ideo bonum esset cum eis de fide disputare. Et exiens ad mellicum hoc est ad potestatem pretorem uel presidem ciuitatis accessit et persuasit de fratribus predictis. Quod mellicus audiens eos ad se accersiri fecit. Et interrogans vnde essent et quo irent. responderunt sancti ad omnia per ordinem ut decebat quod scilicet latini erant christiani et quod propter christum peregrinantes tale iter assumpserant. Post uerba autem huius [modi] a mellico benigne dimissi cum gaudio ad domum sunt reuersi. Quod cernens dictus osep alexandrinus et totus in corde gladiatus ait mellico quod illi fratres et eorum similes latini nominis erant sarracenorum inimici. Ac mellicus dissimulans usque in crastinum iterum pro eis misit Et diligenter investigans de fide & statu francorum et gratam in omnibus habens responsionem eorum iterum eos illesos ire permisit. Post dies autem aliquos canis ille famelicus alexandrinus ad fratres uenit. et quod eos mellicus uocaret dixit. Responderunt sancti. Quid petit a nobis mellicus Pauperes christi peregrini sumus et in hac vita nichil possidemus. At

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[1] *Or read* maxime [scientie] et

canis ille ait. Sequimini me nichil timentes et bibliam
uobiscum ferte. Tunc sancti mellicum adierunt et post
plurima uerba interrogati an librum aliquem haberent ei
bibliam optulerunt. Qui admirans libri pulcritudinem petiuit
quid in ea scriptum esset. Ac illi dixerunt. quod antiquam
et nouam legem ipsa contineret. Tunc mellicus ait. Jsti libri
sunt apud uos aprobati. Responderunt. Sunt et ille.
Alcoranus ergo | apud uos non est aprobatus. Dixerunt. 182*d*
Non. Et mellicus. Quare non ? liber dei est et missus a deo.
Et cepit plura dicere ? [*sic*] de fetidissima sua fide subdens
in fine. Fides nostra et vestra bona est. Responderunt
sancti. Nostra bona est. At ille. quasi conminatorie ait.
Quid dicitis. At illi verum dicimus. Post verba plurima
dixerunt sancti. Dimitte nos domine. pauperes christiani
sumus. et in hac uita nichil possidemus. et alibi ire disposuimus.
At mellicus. Vadatis inquid in pace. sed bibliam
pro soldano dimittatis. Et sancti. Nequaquam hoc facere
possumus quia sine hoc libro esse non valemus. Cumque
bibliam retinere uellet ad preces cuiusdam pagani non
sarraceni bibliam reddidit. et ipsos a se licentiauit. Semel
eciam ad sugestionem dicti osep alexandrini vocati a cadi
sancti fratres ceperunt de fide nostra sarraceni cum sanctis
fratribus disputare. Sarraceni autem dicebant christum non
deum set solum verum hominem esse. frater vero thomas
opositum fortiter asseruit et probauit scilicet quod ymo erat
non tantum homo, purus set verus homo deus. Et hoc
exemplis et rationibus varijs declarauit. Cum eciam de
benedicta trinitate essent plura verba. et sancti deum esse
trinum et vnum assererent continuerunt nequam aures suas
dicentes se blasfemiam pessimam audiuisse⟨m⟩. cumque
sancti plurima adducerent exempla trinitatem et christi
filiacionem probancia sic quod sarraceni amplius resistere
nescirent remanebant illi infideles nichilominus indurati.
frater iordanus predicator. 183*b*
Adeo enim illi solares ardores cunctis mirantibus et stupentibus
mox diuina vircute super eos fuerunt mitigati ut in nullo
possent penitus ab eis fratres inuictissimi molestari. Jtaque
a uinculis absoluti et predictis mellico et cadino presentari
[*sic*] et similiter de fide interrogati & promissis & minis
in nullo moti. canes illi iusserunt statim in maydano id est
in platea publica ciuitatis copiosum ignem parari.
frater iordanus predicator. 183*c*

Omnis etiam populus clamauit et dixit. Non intret antiquior set iunior. mos enim orientalium est senioribus maxime propter barbe albedinem reuerentiam exhibere Iussum est igitur fratrem iacobum primitus in ignem iactari.

frater iordanus predicator.

Qui primo signo crucis se muniens in medio flammarum quasi in quodam recenti rosario existens stabat illesus De quo pre multitudine flammarum nichil aparebat de ipso nisi interdum propter flantem uentum flammas aliquando deprimentem vox tamen eius aliquando audiebatur beatam uirginem in suum auxilium continue inuocantem Stetit autem dictus seruus christi per maximum spacium in flammis predictis usque ad totalem ignis extinctionem. Quo consumpto exiuit dei atleta illesus non solum in corpore set nec in pilo vestimentorum adustus.[1]

183*d* frater iordanus predicator

set ibidem in flammis perseuerans per magnum spacium illesus aspicitur. nisi quod atisionibus ex iactura aliquantulum in tibijs grafinatur. Conuenerunt autem ad dictum spectaculum pagani plurimi adoratores ignis et sarraceni quam plures & pauci christiani. Itaque clamor omnium atollitur quod boni sunt viri isti. Et sic sanctus de igne illesus educitur. Et iterum de fide cum socijs temptatus et constantissimus inuentus iussus est decollari solus.

184*a* Qualiter cadinus sanctorum mortem cum melico tractauit ex literis fratris iordani predicatoris.

Cum autem nox superuenisset accessit cadinus minister dyaboli et supradictus osep ad mellicum dicentes. quod quia signum crucis cunctis uidentibus fecerant sancti fratres omnino deberent occidi et decollari alias ipsorum machometi fides pro nichilo poterat reputari. At mellicus abhorrens facinus dixit. quod nichil mali fecerant sancti fratres sarracenis. et quod sufficere debebant mala iam illata innocentibus peregrinis. Tunc cadi iratus dixit quod si sic dimitterentur illesi plurimi sarracenorum et pagani propter eorum predicationem et dicta miracula efficerentur christiani et sic fides machometi detrimentum pateretur addens quod si eos occidi faceret plus mereretur quam si mecam id est machometi sepulcrum visitaret. Cumque nec sic ille assensum preberet. set manus in seruos dei mittere plurimum formidaret ait iniqus cadinus. Ne formides eos occidere redditurus ego in die iudicij de hoc rationem. set et sanguis eorum sit super me et super filios meos Tunc uictus mellicus .iiij^{or}. satellitibus dyaboli precepit ut mandato cadini obedirent et dei seruos occiderent.

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[1] Aductus *changed later to* adustus.

De ipsorum pretiosa morte ex epistola fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum. 184*b*

Tunc illi satellites dyaboli iussa imperantis implentes expoliauerunt sanctos nudos. Qui sibi inuicem monita salutis dantes ortabantur se mutuo ad eterne uite coronam Primus igitur dyaboli minister gladium uibrans supra fratrem iacobum et eius verticem per transuersum impetens dei ⟨ad⟩ atletam vno ictu ad terram prostrauit

frater Jordanus predicator.

Qui cadens nichil dicens mox expirauit.

frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum 184*c*

Secundus dyaboli minister percussit fratrem thomam super humerum per transuersum similiter. Et hic mox cadens et modicum in suo se uolutans sanguine bis uel ter sancta maria. sancta maria. sancta maria. clara uoce personuit. Tercius similiter dyaboli minister fratrem demetrium conuersum siue laycum per uiscera percussit. supra quem et ceteri ministri dyaboli suos gladios aponentes eundem crudeliter peremerunt. Demum ad singulos redeuntes guttur omnium cum gladijs secauerunt. Jn ipsa autem hora mox ut christi martires fuerunt occisi in tantum luna resplenduit et claritatem tantam dedit ut omnibus esset in prodigium et stuporem.

Passio fratris petri de senis ex litera fratris iordani ordinis predicatorum

Cum autem frater petrus senensis domi existeret et quidnam factum esset sanctis suis socijs ignoraret subito uenerunt aparitores armati cum lanternis fere .xx. et ad mellicum ipsum per manus trahentes coram eo statuerunt.

frater iordanus predicator. 184*d*

Et sic de pluribus interrogatus et veritatem constanter respondens missus est in carcere vinculari. mane autem facto inde educitur et de fide iterum interrogatus propositum eis ferme christianitatis ut poterat tam uerbis quam signis intrepide pretendebat.

frater iordanus predicator

Nam iussus est durissime verberari. qui stans inperterritus inter verbera a sarracenis inducebatur ut alla. ylal. id est vnus deus diceret quasi profanum putantes trinitatem ponere. qui hoc dicere renuens. quasi usque ad exalationem spiritus verberatur. videntes autem satellites dyaboli inmobilem dei alletam in fide christi mellico nunciauerunt. dicentes fratrem petrum nullo modo posse a fide auerti nec sarracenismo uelle aliqualiter consentire. At ille iratus iussit sanctum dei per collum suspendi set prius grauius et diucius cedi et demum in tormentum perseuerantem et nullo signo a fide christi vaccillantem ministri dyaboli eum in arbore per collum suspenderunt. Jn qua biduo pendentem nec morientem set uelud in solida terra illesum manentem iussit impius iudex ipsum deponi et extra ciuitatem duci ac si[c] feliciter decollari.

185a frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum

Hoc autem factum est die sabbati circa uesperos ante ramos palmarum. Sequenti autem die que est dominica de ramis corpus eius in terra dimissum et in suo sanguine uolutatum penitus non est inuentum set nec sanguinis eius usquam aparuit vestigium ac si in corpore et anima iam fuisset assumptus.

De quibusdam uisionibus ex literis fratris vgolini missis fratribus taurisij

In quibusdam literis fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum
continebantur aliqua alia de sanctis martirisatis in tana
fratribus que non sunt scripta in litera in qua eorum martirium
continetur quorum vnum est quod cuidam christiano in |
185b tana omnes .iiij^{or}. martires aparuerunt et cum idem
christianus eos interrogaret utrum viuerent uel essent mortui
responderunt quod non erant mortui set viuebant. Tunc
iterum ille interrogauit. quid est de socio uestro fratre
iordano. Responderunt sancti. Ecce nunc peruenit tanam.
et modo descendit de naui in portu tane. Jtem cum soldanie
apud fratres predicatores sit vnum os maxille alicuius illorum
fratrum sanctorum et ignoraretur cuius fratris esset tunc
quedam bona mulier de soldania rogauit beatam uirginem
quod sibi dignaretur ostendere cuius fratris esset illa maxilla.
Completa autem oracione mulier a sompno arripitur et statim
aparuit sibi quidam frater minor in habitu glorioso. et
quedam amphora plena ossibus gloriosis sicut erat in rey
veritate quia in supera ciuitate indie supradictus frater
iordanus accepit omnia principalia predictorum martirum
ossa et misit in quadam amfora quam in quadam ecclesia que
est in supera collocauit. tunc illa mulier dixit illi fratri qui

sibi aparuerat cuius fratris fuerat supradicta maxilla. Jlle vero respondit. Quod fratris demetrij. Tunc illa mulier iterum interrogauit. Quid est de corpore fratris petri de senis. Respondit ille. Quando deo placuerit tunc ad suam gloriam reuelabitur eius corpus.

frater iordanus predicator

Corpora autem priorum trium martirum per tres dies adeo intacta a feris & auibus | et penitus incorrupta ymo singulari 185*c* modo manserunt alba et pulcra. ac si fuissent omnino balsamata. propter timorem tum mellici et cadini longo tempore steterunt corpora inhumata quousque ego frater iordanus suasij (= suasu) christianorum in parroch iui. et post baptismum rediens in tanam ossa ipsa ut melius potui recolligi feci ac suspiriose sepeliui.

frater iacobus custos taurisinus.

Retulit nobis quidam iuuenis ianuensis qui uocatur lafranquinus qui fuit socius fratris iordani sepenominati quod in tercia die a passione sanctorum martirum ipse venit in tanam cum fratre iordano et uidit illa corpora martirum in illis solis ardoribus incorrupta et illesa. et de capitibus eorum maximus odor exibat. Que capita predictus iuuenis manibus proprijs contrectauit et presensit predictum odorem. Qualiter tractantes eorum mortem fuerunt puniti.

frater iordanus predicator

Post sanctorum sedem in crastinum socius collateralis mellici qui in omnibus fuerat consentiens conscius et consulens. per ciuitatem equitans de equo cecidit concussus miserabiliter expirauit. Quod populus cernens in uindictam sanctorum factum esse penitus non dubitauit. Post dies uero aliquos mellicus auaricia ductus de rebus sanctorum sollicitare cepit. et duos christianos in carcere de pairia diris cathenis uinculans occasionem querebat qualiter illos deleret.

frater iordanus predicator.

Erant autem stantes | sancti .iiij^{or}. martirisati super eius 185*d* .iiij^{or}. angulos lecti aspectu mirabiles et nescio quid loquentes et super eum ignem iacere uolentes. Quos infelix mellicus aspiciens ad sanctorum gloriam totus tremens clamare cepit ac dicere Succurrite succurrite. adiuuate me.

Ex epistola fratris iordani predicatoris

Mox vero in crastinum magnum conuiuium pauperibus fecit et pro sanctorum morte pauperes recreauit. Dedit insuper edictum ut christiani ceteri qui propter necem sanctorum fratrum fugerant de ciuitate sibi timentes ad libitum redirent et quod ut prius in ciuitate libere remanerent

186*a* Ex literis vicarij orientalis

Ne igitur consciencie uestre in aliquo hesitent supradictorum uolo uos scire quomodo ad nostram noticiam peruenerunt.

186*b* Quidam christianus | latinus ianuensis nomine iacobinus mercator qui cum dictis sanctis fratribus simul in india perfectus est et ab eis recedens dum illi tanam iuerunt et ibi martirium acceperunt. iste in quadam insula morabatur. Qui post sanctorum necem in cena domini viii^{a}. videlicet die dicti martirij tanam aplicuit et ibidem a toto populo hec omnia fideliter est perscrutatus nec non etiam a fratre iordano predicatore. Qui iacobinus tandem reuersus est taurisij cum specialibus literis fratris iordani seriatim adiuratus a custode taurisij et fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus de veritate dicenda fidelis homo et bone conditionis hec omnia per ordinem ennarrauit.

Tenor etiam litere quam dictis fratribus ex parte fratris iordani portauit de verbo ad verbum talis est

Reuerendis in christo patribus fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus in taurisio et dyagorgano et merega conmorantibus frater iordanus predicatorum ordinis omnium minimus scipsum pro salute et pedum oscula cum lacrimis beatorum. Nouerit omnium uestra paternitas ueneranda mihi (= me) solum sine socio in yndia pauperculum et peregrinum vbi post passionem sociorum meorum de ordine fratrum minorum videlicet thome sancti et iacobi gloriosi petri de [senis et de] metrij martirum beatorum meis peccatis exigentibus uiuere sum permissus. scit ipse deus qui omnia disponit optime prout volt. set nichilominus per omnia benedictus Jbidemque post felix martirium quod in .v^{ta}. feria. ante ramos palmarum fuit in tana yndie. ab eodem loco per .x. dies in contrata quadam que parroch dicitur nonaginta fere personas baptisaui et adhuc baptisare non cesso quia postmodum plus quam .xx. baptisaui et inter tanam et superam .xxxv. baptisaui. laus

186*c* sit christo omnium creatori | Si haberem socium remanere[m] per aliquid tempus Nunc vero preparabo ecclesiam fratribus uenturis et dimitam meam et martirium raubam et libros vniuersos. veniam autem omnino tum propter fidei negocia alia satis ardua et cetera.

Ego etiam audi et legi quandam literam magnam quorundam latinorum que facta fuit in yndia vbi erant supradicta et alia plurima ad dictum martirium pertinentia in qua specialiter erat istud uerbum. quod si uellemus seriose totum martirium sanctorum fratrum recitare non sufficeret vnus annus. Qui latini iuerant in yndiam cum sanctis fratribus supradictis

Exclamacio lacrimosa fratris iordani predicatoris quia cum sanctis non fuit passus in qua suas recitat corporales afflictiones.

Ego autem post martirum gloriosorum coronas tanam ut iam dixi ueniens etiam sanctorum corpora ut iam dixi sepeliens maneo solus in ciuitate prefata et circumadiacenti prouincia per annos duos cum dimidio ingrediens et egrediens indignus habitus corona meorum felicium sociorum. Ve michi patres mei ue michi orphano et peregrino in loco orroris et uaste solitudinis sic infeliciter constituto. ve hore illi pessime hore odibili. qua me a sanctis socijs pro aliorum salute. heu me ignorans ipsorum futuras coronas sic me infeliciter separaui. O vtinam placuisset deo altissimo quod terra illa tunc deglutisset me viuum. et non sic me post meos socios sanctos in tot. malis et aduersis infelicem et miserum preseruasset. Quis ennarrare ualeat cuncta que postmodum passus sum aduersa. Nam captus sum a piratis incarceratus a sarracenis acusatus maledictus vituperatus et uelud ribaldus quidam in camisia sola vili tempore longo totaliter sine habitu mei sancti | ordinis usque hodie derelictus. O 186*d*
qualem famem sitim frigus calores ardores maledictiones corporis infirmitates paupertates persequtiones falsorum christianorum detractiones aeris intemperies et infinitas alias sum passus post sanctorum coronas infelices passiones heu me quis dabit oculis meis lacrimarum imbrem uberrimum ut plangam me ipsum infelicem et desolatum in tristicia et mesticia cordis mei. Set quid ? Et hijs maiora usque ad mortem paratus sum dulcius ferre propter dulcem ihesum. ut tandem in fine et termino cum felicibus socijs felicem me faciat socium preiocundum. Et dictis infinitis perpessis. etiam propter paupertatem extremam diuersas pacior continue in corpore passiones. nam modo in capite modo in pectore modo in uentre et membris singulis cruciatus solus relictus sum omni humano consilio destitutus. Scisma etiam plurimum propter me est in populo adeo odiosum. Nam vnus dicit bonus est alter vero non set malus et populi seductor. Vltra tamen centum triginta utriusque sexus feliciter babtisaui.

fieretque fructus gloriosus si fratres sancti uenirent qui se ad omnem pascientiam et felix martirium prepararent.

frater iordanus inuitat fratres ad ueniendum ostendens magnum fractum. Igitur fratres karissimi ad uos faciem uerto et quod infelicem peregrinum consolari uelitis de sanctis fratribus socijs lacrimis perfusus ignoro [*sic*]. Veniant igitur fratres sancti ueniant in pacientia fundati. ut sic baptisatorum fructus a malo ualeat preseruari et suo tempore in dominico orreo excussa palea feliciter reponi. pro christi peregrino omnes orate. et ut yndi et nigri neophiti per uos
187*a* ualeant in anima dealbari et coram bono ihesu | pie astare. Finem igitur uerbis suspiriose impono. set et omnium oracionibus ex intimis me totum reconmendo. Data in tana indie ciuitate vbi sancti mei socij martirisati sunt. Anno domini .m.ccc.xxiii. mense ianuarij in festo sanctorum martirum fabiani et sebastiani.

De via ethiopie breuiter scribo quod apta est si quis superuellet illuc ad predicandum ire. Cum paucis autem expensis posset de loco vbi nunc sum illuc transire. Et secundum audita via esset gloriosa pro fidei dilacacione. Notifico uobis quod nomen nostrum latinorum maius est apud yndos quam apud nos ipsos latinos sed et latinorum continue expectant aduentum siue passagium quia ferunt in ipsorum libris penitus esse scriptum nec non et suo more tota die rogant deum quod latinorum acceleret optatum diuinum. O si due galee per dominum papam in hoc mari constituerentur quale esset lucrum et soldano de alexandria quale dampnum et detrimentum. O quis hoc patri et pape sanctissimo nunciabit. Peregrinus ego penitus nequeo sed uobis patribus sanctis totum conmitto. Valete igitur patres sancti et peregrini in oracionibus mementote

ex literis custodis taurisij missis vicario in partibus orientis.

Noueritis quod litera explicans passionem illorum fratrum nostrorum qui fuerunt martirisati in india quam nobis miserunt fratres de taurisio non fuit scripta manu fratris iordani ordinis predicatorum sed ut scripsit frater vgolinus de soldania fratribus existentibus taurisij fuit scripta et recollecta per manus fratris francisci pisani ordinis fratrum predicatorum existentis soldanie ex multis literis quas habuit a fratre iordano eiusdem ordinis qui fuit socius sanctorum martirum predictorum.

187*b* epistola fratris | francisci de pisis predicatoris missa duabus dominabus cum reliquijs martirum predictorum.

Dilectis in christo . . . .
. . . .
mediam enim maxillam vnius martirum diebus hijs a nostri ordinis fratre iordano martirum socio et michi plurimum dulci et caro de yndia cum lugribus literis suscepi. Ex quibus seriem martirij et duos sacros dentes mox uobis mittere curaui. . . . et dicti mei de yndia socij fratris iordani nec non et mei peccatoris francisci hec nunc uobis scribens deuotius in precibus mementote.

TRANSLATION

"The Passion of the holy Brothers Minor, Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of Siena, Demetrius.

"Compiled from the letters of Brothers Jordan and Francis, Preachers, Odoric, Peter, James, Hugolin, Minors; afterwards the Vicar of the East."

Since, as that great Raphael said to Tobit, It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God; and again, Now therefore give God thanks, and tell out all his wonderful works; hence it is that I, brother Peter of Turris, Vicar of the East, lest I may be blamed for neglect, have been careful, as I could, to write truthfully to your charity and most pious devotion the wonders of God and to tell his mighty works. For in these last days the grace of God our Saviour Jesus Christ has appeared among his servants, and, according to the prophecy of Zechariah, a chariot is gone out with four mighty red horses that they may run through the whole earth, as there are four winds, which go out that they may stand before the ruler of the whole earth. These are four Brothers of the Order of Minors, namely Thomas of Tolentino, already sixty years old, Brother James of Padua, both priests, Brother Peter of Siena, Brother Demetrius of Tafelicium (? Tiflis), a Georgian skilled in languages, men of great austerity and most perfect holiness, who now lately have received martyrdom in the year of the Lord m.ccc.xxi., on the fifth-day before the Branches (i.e. Thursday before Palm Sunday), in India in a town which is called Tana. For when the said four Brothers with Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers, burning with the desire for martyrdom and on their way from Tauris to Cathay to preach the true Christian faith and saving penitence to idolaters, Saracens, and other infidels, when they were in Ormes they made a bargain with a ship that they should go to Polumbum (Quilon); but they were carried by it against their will from Suir to Tana, which is perhaps a three months road beyond Tauris; for they wished to go to the Church of the Blessed Apostle Thomas. In which Tana are fifteen houses of Christians, but Nestorians who are schismatics and heretics; and with one of them they lodged.

" *From the letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers, companion of the saints.*

" So while they stayed there for eight days the aforesaid Christians persuaded them that someone of us five should go to the city of Parroth (Bharuch), where many were Christians in name but not baptized, that so they might be taught in the faith of Christ and afterwards baptized. By the advice therefore of all I brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers undertook the said journey for the baptism of these men because I knew the Persian tongue more fully, taking also two lay Christians with me as companions, one of whom offered himself to me as interpreter being very well skilled in the Persian and Indian tongues. So going on board a small boat we came to a certain city named Supera (Supara, north of Bombay), where a beautiful Church had once been built by the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. But when it was destroyed by the pagans, another was set up there by the Christians. There then I, the said poor little brother of the Preachers, baptized as many as twenty and heard their confession and gave them holy Communion. But after sixteen days, wishing to set out for the desired city of Paroth, I procured a ship. But behold! suddenly, to the wonder of all, in a perfect calm, while I was going on board the ship near the shore before beginning my journey, that ship was sunk! I however suffered no harm. Astonished at such a portent and not knowing what the angel of Satan was doing about the Minors whom I had left at Tana, I felt suspicious none the less and set myself to write to them by special messenger. And, contrary to my custom, I began to write without knowing what to say: To the Reverend Fathers Brothers Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of

Siena, and Demetrius, the glorious Heralds, and so forth. And I sent to them by those two Christian companions. And raising my eyes to heaven I prayed in the aforesaid Church with many sighs that the Lord Jesus Christ would guide the actions of my Brothers. It was moreover the sixth-day before the Palm Branches (10th April, 1321), and on the day before had been done the things which I am about to tell concerning the death of the holy Brothers, of which I was completely ignorant. But the next night I was suddenly awakened by the Christians who advised me to fly, declaring that my holy companions had been seized. But trusting in the good Jesus I promptly answered, Perish the thought that I should fly and leave my companions bound like this. I will go then immediately at full speed to Tana, and will present myself at once before the Mellic (*melik*, governor), and because I am more expert in the Persian tongue than the others I will answer his questions. Taking then my way to Tana I came to a certain hamlet, where I found the Christian companions whom I had sent with the letter and began to wonder why they had not gone to Tana. But when I looked at their troubled faces and those of many others I began to ask what news they might have. But when they were afraid to tell me and I roared at them with great clamour someone came up to say that my holy companions were killed. The manner however and order of their suffering was like this :—"

The Vicar of the East, Brother Peter.

When the said four Minors were staying hidden for fear of the Saracens in the house of a schismatic in the said city of Tana, it happened that a great quarrel arose between the master of the house and his wife, and when the man had beaten his wife she went to the Cadi, who is like a Bishop among the Saracens and acts as judge, to complain. And when the Cadi asked whether she could prove what she was saying she answered that she had four Frankish Raban, that is Latin monks, in her house who had seen when it was done.

"*From a letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"Then the Cadi (cadinus) answered, [When] your priests, that is the Christian Brothers aforesaid, are come then (et) you explain your case to me. But she, They do not know our language well, and so would not be able to judge between me and my husband. A certain Saracen however from Alexandria, named Osep (Joseph), catching her remark, said that the Frankish, that is Latin, Brothers were in truth men most learned in the Scriptures and so it would be good to dispute with them about the Faith. And going out he went to the Mellic, that is the Podesta, Praetor, or Governor of the city, and persuaded him about the said Brothers. And when the Mellic heard it he caused them to be brought before him. And when he asked whence they were and whither they were going, the saints answered all appropriately in order, namely that they were Christian Latins and that they had undertaken such a journey as pilgrims for Christ. After talk of this kind, moreover, they were kindly dismissed by the Mellic and returned to the house with joy. And the said Osep of Alexandria seeing this and being all wounded in heart says to the Mellic that those Brothers and their like of the Latin name were enemies of the Saracens. And the Mellic putting it off till the next day sent for them again, and, inquiring carefully about the faith and state of the Franks and counting their answer quite acceptable, he let them go again unhurt. But after some days that starved dog of Alexandria came to the Brothers and said that the Mellic was calling them. The saints answered, What does the Mellic seek from us ? We are poor pilgrims of Christ, and in this life we possess nothing. But that dog says, Follow me without fear and bring the Bible with you. Then the saints came to the Mellic, and when after very much talk they were asked if they had any book they offered him the Bible. And while he admired the beauty of the book he asked what might be written in it. And they said that it contained the Old and New Law. Then the Mellic says, Are these books approved among you ? They answered, They are. And he, Then the Alcoran is not approved among you. They said, No. And the Mellic, Why not ? It is the book of God and sent from God. And he began to say many things about their most stinking faith, adding at the end, Our faith is good and yours. The saints replied, Ours is good. But he says in a threatening manner, What do you say ? But they, We say the truth. After very many words the saints said, Send us away, Sir. We are poor Christians, and in this life we possess nothing, and we have arranged to go elsewhere. But the Mellic, Go, said he, in peace, but leave the Bible for the

Sultan. And the saints, By no means can we do this, for without this book we are not able to exist. And though he wished to keep the Bible, at the prayer of a certain pagan, not a Saracen, he gave back the Bible and let them leave his presence. Once also when the holy Brothers had been summoned to the Cadi at the suggestion of the said Osep of Alexandria the Saracens began to dispute with the holy Brothers about our faith. The Saracens moreover were saying that Christ was not God but true man only. But Brother Thomas stoutly asserted and proved the opposite, namely that he was indeed not pure man only but true Man-and-God. And this he set out with various instances and reasons. When there was much talk also about the blessed Trinity and the saints declared that God was threefold and one, they miserably stopped their ears saying that they had heard the worst blasphemy. And when the saints brought forward very many instances to prove the Trinity and the Sonship of Christ so that the Saracens could resist no more, those infidels remained hardened none the less."

And the Cadi with the people cried out and said to Brother Thomas as the elder, And you, what do you say of Mahomet, what do you say? And Brother Thomas said, As you are determined that I shall say, I say that Mahomet is the son of perdition and is in hell with the devil, and all who hold his false and profane law are damned. Then all the Saracens together with the Cadi cried, Let him die because he has spoken evil of the Prophet. And immediately they stripped the Brothers and anointing their naked bodies put them in the blazing sun that they might die with greater pain. And so they stayed from terce to noon praising God, sound and cheerful.

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" For to the wonder and astonishment of all that heat of the sun was soon so tempered above them by the divine power that the most victorious Brothers could not be hurt by it at all. And so after they had been set free from the chains and set before the aforesaid Mellic and Cadi and questioned in like fashion about the faith and were in nothing moved by promises and threats, those dogs immediately caused a huge fire to be made ready in the Maydan, that is in the public square, of the city."

When the fire was lighted and the people gathered together in the city square, Brother Thomas wished to leap into the fire first. But they refused saying, Since you are old you may chance to have some charm so that the fire may not burn you.

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" All the people also cried and said, Let not the elder go in, but the younger. For it is the custom of Orientals to show respect to elders especially on account of the whiteness of the beard. So it was ordered that Brother James should first be thrown into the fire."

And immediately four Saracens threw Brother James of Padua into the fire.

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" And he defending himself first with the sign of the Cross stayed as if he were in some fresh garden of roses, unhurt in the midst of the flames. Whereupon for the multitude of the flames nothing of him was seen except at intervals because of the wind which was blowing depressing the flames sometimes, yet his voice was sometimes heard continually calling the blessed Virgin to his help. The said servant of Christ stayed moreover for a very great while in the aforesaid flames, until the complete extinction of the fire. And when it was burnt up God's athlete came out not only unhurt in body but not even scorched in the pile of his clothes."

And the malignant Cadi cried out and said, He is not holy, but he is not burnt up because the coat which he has on his back is made of wool from the land of Abraham. Let him be stripped naked and so be put into the fire. And when they had lighted a greater fire, they sent Brother James into it naked and covered with oil. And Brother Thomas and Brother Demetrius were praying fervently outside.

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" But he is seen staying there in the flames a great while unhurt, except that he is slightly scratched on the shins by the faggots from being thrown. There came together to the said sight multitudes of pagans, worshippers of fire, and Saracens very many, and a few Christians. And so a shout is raised from all that these are good men. And thus the saint is led unhurt from the fire, and having been tried again with his companions concerning the faith and found perfectly firm, he was ordered to be beheaded alone."

And lo Mellic, that is the Podesta of the land, called the Brothers to him and said, when Brother James had been clothed again; Go, Brothers, with the grace of God, for we know that you are holy men and your faith is perfect. Leave this land, because the Cadi wishes by all means to kill you. . . . And when it was the hour of Compline lo Melich caused these Brothers to be carried across a branch of the sea, where there was a suburb. And that Christian with whom they had first lodged in Tana accompanied them, and they were lodged together in the house of an idolater.

" *How the Cadi treated for the death of the Saints with the Mellic. From the letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" When however night had come down the Cadi, servant of the devil and the above-said Osep went to the Mellic saying that because the holy Brothers had made the sign of the Cross in the sight of all they ought by all means to be killed and beheaded. Otherwise their own faith of Mahomet could be counted for nothing. But the Mellic, shrinking from the crime, said that the holy Brothers had done no harm to the Saracens and that the evils already brought on the innocent pilgrims ought to be enough. Then the Cadi was angry and said that if they were let go unhurt numbers of Saracens and pagans would be made Christians because of their preaching and the said miracles, and so the faith of Mahomet would suffer loss; adding that if he caused them to be killed he would have more merit than if he visited Mecca, that is the tomb of Mahomet. And when neither so would he give consent, but feared exceedingly to lay hands on the servants of God, the wicked Cadi says, Fear not to kill them, as I will give account of this on the judgement day, but may their blood too be on me and on my sons. Then the Mellic, being overcome, ordered four satellites of the devil to obey the commands of the Cadi and to kill the servants of God."

And they when they crossed the water could not find them in the darkness. And meanwhile lo Mellich caused all the Christians who were in the land to be captured and imprisoned. But at the hour of matins, when Brothers James and Thomas were saying matins, the armed men heard them and seized them and led them under a tree, saying to them, The Cadi and Mellic have ordered us to kill you, which we do unwillingly because if we do not we shall be killed with our children. And the holy Brothers said, We too are ready for the love of Jesus Christ to bear all torture and death. And when that Christian wished to set them free, he could not.

"*Concerning their precious death. From the letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"Then those satellites of the devil, carrying out the orders of the ruler, stripped the saints naked. And they mutually encouraged one another to the crown of eternal life giving one another saving advice in turn. So the first servant of the devil, brandishing a sword over Brother James and striking his head crosswise, laid the athlete of God with one blow on the earth. . . .

"*Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"And he falling soon died without a word."

But Brother Thomas seeing this immediately knelt down and gave himself wholly to prayer.

"*Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"The second servant of the devil struck Brother Thomas in the same way over the shoulder crosswise. And he soon falling and rolling himself a little in his own blood cried with a loud voice Sancta Maria, Sancta Maria, Sancta Maria. two or three times. In the same way the third servant of the devil struck Brother Demetrius, a lay convert, in the bowels; and the other servants of the devil too put him cruelly to death with their swords. Coming back at last to each one singly they cut the throats of all with their swords. Moreover in that very hour as soon as the martyrs of Christ were killed the moon shone so brightly and gave so great light that all took it for a portent and marvel."

But when it was morning the Cadi ordered the things of those holy Brothers to be taken. And then they found there Brother Peter of Siena who had been left there to take care of the things.

"*The Passion of Brother Peter of Siena. From a letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"When however Brother Peter of Siena was in the house and did not know what had been done to his holy companions about twenty armed apparitors suddenly came with lanterns and dragging him to the Mellic by the hands set him before him.

"*Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"And so having been questioned about many things and answering with constancy of truth, he was sent to be fettered in prison. But when it was morning he was brought out thence and being questioned again about the faith he set fearlessly before them the statement of unwavering Christianity as well as he could both by words and signs."

They tortured him with dreadful torments from morning till noon.

"*Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"For he was ordered to be most severely flogged, and standing unterrified amidst the blows he was tempted by the Saracens to say Alla ylal, that is God is one, they thinking as it were to profane the Trinity. And refusing to say this he is beaten almost to his last breath. Seeing however that the athlete of God was immovable in the faith of Christ, the satellites of the devil told the Mellic saying that Brother Peter could in no way be turned away from the faith nor would at all agree to the Saracen faith. And he was angry and ordered the holy man of God to be hung by the neck, but first to be beaten harder and longer. And at last when he persevered in the torture and by no sign wavered from the faith of Christ the servants of the devil hung him by the neck on a tree. And when he hung there for two days not dying but remaining unhurt as if on solid ground, the wicked judge ordered him to be taken down and to be led out of the city and so happily to be beheaded."

And taking him down sound and praising God and confessing Christ they were enraged and cut him in two and threw him out.

"*Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"Moreover this was done about Vespers on the day of the Sabbath before the Palm Branches (11th April). On the following day however which is the Lord's day of the Branches (Palm Sunday, 12th April) his body which had been thrown down on the ground and rolled in his own blood was not found at all nor was a trace of blood ever seen; as if in body and soul he had already been taken up to heaven."

"*Concerning certain Visions. From a letter of Brother Hugolin sent to the Brothers at Tauris.*

"In a letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers are contained some other things about the holy Brothers martyred in Tana which were not written in the letter in which their martyrdom was contained. Of which one is that all the four martyrs appeared to a certain Christian in Tana, and when the same Christian asked them whether they were alive or were dead they answered that they were not dead but living. Then he asked again, What about your companion Brother Jordan? The saints answered, Behold he has now reached Tana and is just leaving the ship in the harbour of Tana. Again when there was a jawbone of one of those holy Brothers with the Brothers Preachers at Soldania and it was not known which Brother's it was, then a certain good woman of Soldania asked the Blessed Virgin to deign to show her which Brother's that jawbone was. And when the prayer was ended the woman suddenly fell asleep and immediately there appeared to her a certain Brother Minor in glorious apparel and an urn full of glorious bones; just as it was in real truth, because at Supera a city of India the above mentioned Brother Jordan received all the principal bones of the aforesaid martyrs and put them in an urn which he placed in a Church which is in Supera. Then the woman said to the Brother who appeared to her, To which Brother did the above mentioned jawbone belong? And he answered that it had belonged to Brother Demetrius. Then the woman asked again, What about the body of Brother Peter of Siena? He answered, When God pleases then his body will be revealed to his glory."

"*Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"Moreover the bodies of the first three martyrs remained indeed in a wonderful manner white and fair for three days, quite untouched by wild beasts and birds and altogether undecayed, as if they had been wholly embalmed. For fear both of the Mellic and Cadi the bodies stayed a long time unburied while I, brother Jordan, persuaded by the Christians, went to Parroch; and when I came back to Tana after the baptism I had the bones gathered up as well as I could and buried them with sighs."

" *Brother James Custos of Tauris.*

"We were told by a certain young Genoese who is called Lafranquinus, who was a companion of Brother Jordan who has been often named, that on the third day from the passion of the holy martyrs he came to Tana with Brother Jordan and saw the bodies of the martyrs undecayed and unhurt in that blazing sun; and a very great fragrance issued from their heads. And the aforesaid youth handled the heads with his own hands and perceived the aforesaid fragrance."

" *How those who contrived their death were punished.*

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" The day after the slaughter of the saints the assistant of the Mellic, who had been consenting, aware, and advising in the whole affair, fell from the horse as he was riding through the city and died miserably from the shock. And when the people saw this they had no doubt at all that it had been done [1] in vengeance for the saints. But after some days the Mellic moved by greed began to inquire about the goods of the saints, and binding two Christians with grievous chains in the prison of Pairia [2] sought for an opportunity to kill them."

When however lo Melic was sleeping that day

" *Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"The four martyred saints were standing over the four corners of his bed wonderful in countenance and saying I know not what and meaning to throw fire upon him. And when the unhappy Mellic saw them, all trembling at the glory of the saints he began to shout and say, Quick, quick, help me!"

And all his family ran up asking what he had. And he said, Those Frankish Raban whom I ordered to be killed have just come here wishing to kill me with their swords. And immediately he sent for lo Cadi and told him all that had happened to him, asking what he could do that he should not be killed by them. And the Cadi advised him to do great alms for them if he wished to escape from their hands.

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[1] factum. But it seems possible to read the word fratrum.
[2] *Or* patria. I cannot explain this.

" *From a letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" On the next day indeed he hastened to make a great feast for the poor and relieved the poor for the death of the saints. He gave also a decree that the rest of the Christians who had fled from the city in fear for themselves because of the slaughter of the holy Brothers should return when they pleased and stay freely in the city as before."

" *From the letter of the Vicar of the East.*

" Lest then you should hesitate to believe any of the abovesaid things, I wish you to know how they came to our knowledge. A certain Latin Christian, a Genoese merchant named Jacobin, who set out for India together with the said holy Brothers. And, leaving them while they went to Tana and received martyrdom there, he stayed on a certain island. And after the death of the saints on the Lords Supper (Maundy Thursday), namely on the eighth day of the said martyrdom, he landed at Tana and there faithfully made thorough inquiry of all the people about all these things and also of Brother Jordan the Preacher. And this Jacobin has at length come back to Tauris with a special letter from Brother Jordan. And having been put on oath to tell the truth by the Custos of Tauris and the Brothers Minor and Preachers in turn, he, a trustworthy man and of good standing, recounted all these things in order.

" The tenor also of the letter which he brought to the said Brothers on behalf of Brother Jordan is word for word like this :—

" To the reverend Fathers in Christ the Brothers Preachers and Minor who are sojourning in Tauris and Dyagorgan and Merega Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers the least of all commends himself for salvation and kisses with tears of the feet of the blest. All your venerable Fatherhood knows that I [am] a poor little person and pilgrim alone without companion in India, where after the passion of my companions of the Order of Brothers Minor, namely the blessed martyrs Thomas the holy and James the glorious, Peter [of Siena and] Demetrius, I was allowed, my sins demanding it, to live;

God himself knows, who arranges all things for the best as he wills, but none the less is altogether blest. And there, after the happy martyrdom which took place in Tana of India on the fifth-day before the Palm Branches, I baptized about ninety persons in a place which is called Parroch, ten days [journey] from the same place, and I still do not cease to baptize, because afterwards I baptized more than twenty, and between Tana and Supera I baptized thirty-five, praise be to Christ the Creator of all. If I had a companion I should remain for some time. But now I shall prepare a Church for the Brothers who shall come and shall leave my own and the Martyrs' robe and all books.[1] I shall come however by all means [both to secure the canonization of the martyrs] and on account of other sufficiently difficult affairs of the faith, etc.

"I also heard and read a long letter from certain Latins which had been composed in India, in which were the abovesaid things and very many others relating to the said martyrdom, and in it was this remark especially, that if we wished to tell the whole story of the martyrdom of the holy Brothers in order a year would not be enough. And the Latins had gone to India with the holy Brothers mentioned above.

"*A tearful exclamation of Brother Jordan the Preacher because he had not suffered with the saints, in which he tells of his own bodily afflictions.*

"I however coming to Tana, as I have already said, after the coronation of the glorious martyrs and also burying, as I have already said, the bodies of the saints remain alone in the aforesaid city and surrounding province coming in and going out for two years and a half, counted unworthy of my happy companions' crown. Woe to me, my Fathers! woe to me the orphan and pilgrim so unhappily set in a place of horror and of boundless solitude! Woe to that most evil hour, the hateful hour, in which for the salvation of others I so unhappily separated myself from my holy companions, ignorant, alas for me! of their future crowns. Oh would that it had pleased God most high that the earth should have then swallowed me up alive, and had not thus preserved me unhappy and miserable in so many evils and adversities after my holy companions! Who may recount all the adversities which I suffered afterwards? For I have been captured by pirates, imprisoned by the Saracens, accused, cursed, abused, and am left to this day like some ribald man in nothing but a cheap shirt having been for a long time wholly without the dress of my holy Order. Oh what hunger, thirst, cold, heat, burning, cursings, weaknesses of body, poverty, persecutions, detraction by false Christians, unseasonable weather, and infinite other unhappy sufferings have I suffered since the crowning of the saints! Alas me! Who will give my eyes a richest shower of tears that I may weep my own misfortune and desolation in the pain and sorrow of my heart? But what! Yet greater things than these, even to death, I am ready gladly to suffer for the sake of the sweet Jesus, that at the end and limit he may make me at length a most cheerful companion happy with my happy companions. And in addition to the said infinite sufferings I am also continually suffering different bodily pains on account of extreme poverty, for racked now in the head, now in the chest, now in the belly, I am left alone, deprived of all human advice. There is also a very great and hateful division among the people because of me. For one says, He is good; but another, No, but evil and a seducer of the people. Nevertheless I have happily baptized more than a hundred and thirty of either sex, and the harvest would be glorious if holy brothers would come who should prepare themselves for every suffering and happy martyrdom.

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[1] The sentence "But now . . . all books" seems strange, and the text may possibly be corrupt. Yule translates raubam (Assisi robam, Paris Robbam) "things", but the editors of *Analecta Franciscana* explain it as vestis.

"*Brother Jordan invites Brothers to come showing the great harvest.*

"Therefore dearest Brothers I turn my face towards you and bathed in tears beg[1] that you will comfort the unhappy pilgrim concerning the holy companion Brothers. May the holy Brothers come then, may they come grounded in patience, that so the harvest of those who have been baptized may be saved from evil and happily stored in his own time in the Master's barn when the chaff has been threshed out. Pray you all for the pilgrim of Christ, and that the Indians and black neophytes may be able to be made white in soul through you and piously to stand before the good Jesus. So I put an end to my words with sighs. But I also commend myself wholly from my heart to the prayers of all. Given at Tana a city of India, where my holy companions were martyred, in the year of the Lord m.ccc.xxiii. in the month of January on the Feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian.

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[1] All the MSS. seem to read ignoro, an obvious slip for imploro. See *AF.* iii, p. 610.

About the way to Ethiopia I write briefly that it is suitable if anyone should wish also to go there to preach. Moreover he could cross over there from the place where I now am with little expense. And according to what has been heard the journey would be a glorious one for the spread of the faith. I tell you that our name of Latins is greater among the Indians than among us Latins ourselves; but they are even continually waiting for the coming or passing of the Latins because they say it is clearly written in their books, and in their own way they pray God all day to hasten the longed for arrival[1] of the Latins. Oh if two galleys were established in this sea by the lord Pope what an advantage it would be! and what a loss and damage to the Soldan of Alexandria! Oh who will tell this to the most holy Father and Pope. I on my pilgrimage am quite unable, but I entrust it all to you holy Fathers. Farewell, therefore, holy Fathers, and remember the pilgrim in prayers."

" *From a letter of the Custos of Tauris sent to the Vicar in the parts of the East.*

" You will know that the letter describing the passion of those our Brothers who were martyred in India which the Brothers from Tauris sent us was not written by the hand of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers but, as Brother Hugolin of Soldania wrote to the Brothers living at Tauris, it was written and compiled by the hands of Brother Francis of Pisa of the Order of Brothers Preachers living at Soldania from many letters which he had from Brother Jordan of the same Order who was the companion of the holy martyrs aforesaid.[2] "

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[1] *Read* aduentum *for the MS.* diuinum.

[2] As has been said above, this need not make us doubt that the extracts above are as exact copies as any mediaeval scribe cared to make of Jordan's own letters. But they reach us through the medium of Francis of Pisa. After this had gone to the printers I saw that C. V. Langlois, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxv, pp. 270, 271, agrees that the extracts from Jordan may be regarded as genuine, calling them " longs extraits textuels ".

"*A letter of Brother Francis of Pisa the Preacher sent to two ladies with relics of the aforesaid Martyrs.*

"To the beloved in Christ . . .

"For I have lately received from India from Brother Jordan of our Order, the companion of the martyrs and very sweet and dear to me, half a jawbone of one of the martyrs with a doleful letter. From these I have quickly taken care to send to you the story of the martyrdom and two holy teeth. . . . And do you devoutly remember in prayers my said companion Brother Jordan in India and also me the sinner Francis who now writes this to you. . . ."

The text of the "First Letter" from the Paris Manuscript :—

epistola fratris Jordani. de martirio fratrum.
REuerendis in christo Patribus & fratribus predicatoribus &
minoribus. in Thaurisio & de Tongano. & Maroga conmorantibus.
ffrater Jordanus de ordine predicatorum. omnium minimus se
ipsum. & pro salute cum lacrimis obscula pedum beatorum.
Nouerit uestrum omnium paternitas ueneranda me solum sine
sotio in Yndia pauperculum peregrinum. vbi post passionem
sanctorum. videlicet quattuor fratrum minorum. Thome.
Jacobi gloriosi. Petri & demetrij martirum beatorum. meis
peccatis exigentibus uiuere sum permissus. sicut ipse dominus
qui omnia disponit optime pro ut uult. & quando. per omnia
benedictus. ibidem quia felix martirum beatorum. quod quinta
feria ante ramos palmarum dictorum fratrum minorum fuit in
Thana. [In]die ab eodem loco per .x. dietas in contrada quadam
que Parrocço dicitur nonaginta fere personas batticçaui. & adhuc
battiçabo concedente domino plus quam .xx. Et inter Tanam &
superam battiçauj .xxxv. laus christo domino creator iomnium.
Si haberem socium remanerem per aliquod tempus. nunc autem
preparabo ecclesiam fratribus uenturis. & dimictam meam &
martirum Robbam & libros uniuersos. veniam tamen (? tum)
propter sanctorum supradictorum fratrum canonicçationem.
tum propter fidej negotia & alia satis ardua & utilia. lator posset
omnia que scribere nequeo pre temporis breuitate exponere. De
fructu breuiter scribo quia magnus esset qui curaret. Parent
se fratres ad ueniendum quod loca sunt tria ubj fratres multum
fructificare poterunt & comuniter uiuere. que ego scio & vnus
est Supera ubj duo fratres poterunt stare. & alter est in contrada
de parrocço ubj duo uel tres manere poterunt. & alter columbus
exceptis multis alijs que ignoro. verum a nostris mercatoribus
latinis intellexi quod uia Ethyopie est aperta qui uellet ibj ire
ad predicandum. ubj quondam sanctus Matheus euangelista
182v° predicauit. non tamen me permictat dominus mori donec in illis
partibus fidelis esse ualeam peregrinus quod est totaliter mihi cordi.
valete ut opto & orate pro me. & omnibus fidelibus conmendate.
Data. in Coga. die .xij. Octubris. Anno dominj .m.ccc.xxj

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ON THE FRAGMENTS FROM DINNAGA[1]

These notes are not meant to be a criticism or a review of the recent book by Mr. Randle, but only to supplement its important contribution to the knowledge of Indian logic, with some new references drawn from other sources.

Of course, I do not think that the logical and epistemological teachings of Diṅnāga can be reconstructed in their totality simply by collecting together the *disiecta membra* of his thought as quoted by adversaries in their refutation of the Buddhist philosopher. It is, in fact, evident that this can only be done by having access to the Tibetan translations of the most important treatises of Diṅnāga, as well as of the other Buddhist logicians, preserved in the *bsTan-ạgyur*. And I think that Mr: Randle will frankly acknowledge that, if he could have compared the Tibetan translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and of the other works of Diṅnāga, many queries would have disappeared from his book.

Anyhow, as the style of Diṅnāga, as well as that of Dharmakīrti, at least in the *kārikās*, is extremely concise and therefore difficult, before attempting any work of translation into European languages, or rather any hypothetical restoration into Sanskrit of some of the most important treatises of the Buddhist authors, it would prove very useful to collect all the possible quotations from them to be found here and there in the Jaina, as well as in the so-called orthodox, philosophical works. It is, therefore, only with this purpose that I have compiled the following notes, in which I have limited myself exclusively to the Sanskrit sources; in fact, as I write far away from any great library, I cannot give references to the Tibetan translations, nor could I cite from the notes that I took when I studied them without comparing them again with the original xylographs. Moreover,

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[1] H. N. Randle, "Fragments from Diṅnāga": *JRAS*. 1926.

I am sure that Mr. R. Iyengar, of the Mysore University, who was once my pupil in Shāntiniketan, and who is working on the edition and the restoration into Sanskrit of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, will do this comparative study.

FRAGMENT A (concerning the *pratyakṣa*, Randle, p. 8) :—

(*a*) *pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham.*

(*b*) *viṣayasvarūpānuvidhāyi, paricchedakam ātmasaṃvedyam.*

(*c*) *pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati.*

The complete definition of the *pratyakṣa* as given by Diṅnāga is referred to by Vidyānandi[1] in his commentary on the *Yuktyanuśāsana* by Samantabhadra, where he is refuting the *Bauddhamata* concerning the *kṣaṇikatva-vāda*, p. 5.

pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati
pratyātmavedyaḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasaṃśrayaḥ.

This verse is also quoted by Prabhācandra in his *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*,[2] fol. 9b, but there it is joined to another *śloka*, which therefore must be considered as its immediate antecedent.

saṃhṛtya sarvataś cintāṃ stimitenāntarātmanā
sthito 'pi cakṣuṣā rūpam īkṣate sā 'kṣajā matiḥ
pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati,
pratyātmavedyaḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasaṃśrayaḥ.

Moreover these two *ślokas* are preceded by another quotation in prose : *yac cocyate*—

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[1] On Vidyānandi or Vidyānanda—both forms can be found—cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 186, and the introduction to the edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrī* by Vaṃśīdhara, Bombay (in the collection *Gandhī-nātharaṅgajī-Jainagranthamālā*, 1915). The commentary by Vidyānandi on the *Yuktyanuśāsana* seems to be unknown to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, although it is a very important work. It is printed in the *Māṇikacanda-digambarajainagranthamālā* (No. 15), Bombay, 1920.

[2] Edited by Vaṃśīdhara, Bombay, *Nirṇaya-Sāgara*, 1912. This work, which is certainly one of the greatest treatises on Indian logic, seems to have been inaccessible to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who refers only to some MSS. of it (op. cit., p. 194). The Śloka *saṃhṛtya sarvataś cintām*, etc., is quoted also by Vidyānandi in his *Pramāṇaparīkṣā* (in *Sanātanajainagranthamālā*, Benares, 1914, No. 9, p. 54).

saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyāṃ rūpādidarśanaṃ nirvikalpakaṃ pratyakṣato 'nubhūyate ; tad uktam : saṃhṛtya, etc.

That here also we have to do with a literal quotation, probably from the *vṛtti*, is proved by the fact that Vidyānandi himself cites the first part of it (p. 5, just before quoting the definition of *pratyakṣa* in verse) :—

syān mataṃ ; saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyām aśvavikalpakāle godarśanaviṣayāṇāṃ nirvikalpam pratyakṣam pratyakṣata eva siddhaṃ.

Vikalpena nāmasaṃśrayeṇa pratyātmanā vedyena rahitasya pratyakṣasya saṃvedanāt. | *tad uktam*—

pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham, etc.,

tad asat. | *vyavasāyātmakasyaiva pratyakṣasya svasaṃvedanapratyakṣataḥ prasiddheḥ nāmasaṃśrayasya vikalpasya tatrānupalambhe 'py akṣādisaṃśrayasya saṃvedanāt*, " saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyām api stimitenāntarātmanā sthitasya cakṣuṣā rūpam īkṣamāṇasya akṣajāyā mateḥ " *savikalpakātmikāyā eva pratīteḥ.*

SECTION 4, p. 11, the stanza :—

bhinnakālaṃ kathaṃ grāhyam iti ced grāhyatāṃ viduḥ |
hetutvam eva tad yuktaṃ jñānākārārpaṇakṣamam. ||

quoted by Vācaspati (*NVT.*, p. 101, l. 14, new edition, Benares S.S., p. 153), is to be found in the *ṭīkā* on the *Āptaparīkṣā*[1] by Vidyānandi, p. 42, with the only difference that in (*c*) the reading is : *hetutvam eva yuktijñās* ; and in *Pārthasārathimiśra*, on *Ślokavārttika*, *śūnyavāda*, 51, p. 283.[2]

Now I do not think that this passage is to be attributed to Vasubandhu, as Mr. Randle supposes. First of all, if the fragment on the *jātis* and the *nigrahasthānas*, attributed to Vasubandhu in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, is really a chapter of the *Tarkaśāstra*, as the Chinese Buddhist tradition asserts, it would be impossible to attribute the couplet under discussion to that work, which is only in prose. Moreover, it is evident that Vidyānandi, although he does not quote the name of the author (he uses the general designation of *Saugatās*), is refuting Dharmakīrti, from whom he is citing, two or three lines further on, some sentences: *kalpanāpoḍhābhrāntaṃ* (*Nyāyabindu*, chap. i); *bhāvanāprakarṣaparyantajaṃ ca yogijñānam* (ibid.).

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[1] The *Āptaparīkṣā* has been edited in the *Sanātanajainagranthamālā*, Benares, 1913. Vidyābhūṣaṇa simply quotes its title, but seems not to have seen this work (op. cit., p. 187).

[2] Here also there is the reading : *tad yuktam* in (*c*), which has been accepted by the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, and the couplet is equally attributed to the *Sautrantikās*.

The reference to doctrines which were specially elaborated by Dharmakīrti, as *tādātmya*, *tadutpatti*, *adhyavasāyitva*, *sākṣātkāritva*, makes this supposition almost sure.

"*syān matam: na sugatajñānaṃ viśvatattvebhyaḥ samutpannaṃ, tadākāratāṃ cāpannaṃ tadadhyavasāyi ca tatsākṣātkāri saugatair abhidhīyate;* "*bhinnakālam . . .*," etc.

ityanena tadutpattitadrūpyayor grāhyatvalakṣaṇatvena vyavahāriṇaḥ pratyabhidhānāt "*yatraiva janayed enāṃ tatraivāsya pramāṇatā*" *ity anena tadadhyavasāyitvasya pratyakṣalakṣaṇatvena vacanam api na sugatapratyakṣāpekṣayā vyavahārajanāpekṣayaiva tasya vyākhyānāt sugatapratyakṣe svasaṃvedanapratyakṣa iva tallakṣaṇasyāsambhavāt.*

p. 26. The question of the Vādavidhi is of great importance; this treatise, being one of the few works directly quoted by Uddyotakara, it would be extremely interesting to establish its authorship even for the chronological relation between the author of the *Nyāya-Vārttika* and the writer of this Buddhist tract on logic.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa[1] (op. cit., p. 124, n. 1) thought that the *Vādavidhi* is to be ascribed to Dharmakīrti, and on that ground he assumed that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Uddyotakara. In his introduction to the *Bilingual Index of Nyāyabindu*, p. ix, he tried also to fix a chronology of the works of the Buddhist logician, establishing that the *Nyāyabindu* is posterior to the *Vādavidhi*. His argument is that Uddyotakara "quotes Dharmakirti's definition of a proposition (*pratijñā, dam bcas*) from the *Vādavidhi* (same as *Vādanyāya*) and discusses at length the Buddhist definition of *sādhya* (major term). Dharmakīrti in the *Nyāyabindu* defends his own position against the attacks of Uddyotakara, who is designated as a *śāstrakāra*".

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[1] His opinion has been accepted by Professor Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 28.

We must acknowledge that these arguments are not very strong and convincing. Mr. R. Iyengar [1] has already pointed out many reasons why we cannot accept this theory. But there are also other facts which according to me make this assumption of Vidyābhūṣana absolutely untenable.

First of all we have no grounds for affirming that the title of Dharmakīrti's work was *Vādavidhi*. The Tibetan translation of it is preserved, and we find that its Sanskrit title is given there (*bsTan-ạgyur*, Narthang Edition, Mdo, 95, 384) *rgya.gar.skad.du : tso.ta.na.ya.nā.ma.pra.ka.ra.ṇa : bod.skad.du : rtsod.pai.rigs.pa.žes.bya.ba.rab.tu.byed.pa.*

Now neither the corrupted Sanskrit name nor the Tibetan rendering of it can authorize us to affirm that the title of the work under discussion was *Vādavidhi*; it is evident that we must rather restore it into *codanānāmaprakaraṇa*.[2] Moreover, there is an argument which, although it is an argument *a silentio*, seems to me of very great importance and makes me rather doubtful whether we can accept the theory propounded by Vidyābhūṣana. We know that Dharmakīrti asserted that all the twenty-two varieties of *nigrahasthānas* can be included under two main points :—

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[1] *JBORS.*, vol. xii, p. iv, p. 587 ff.

[2] Cordier suggests : *codyanyāya* : Stcherbatsky, *Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteṛen Buddhisten*, p. 257, quotes this same work under the name : *codanānāmaprakaraṇa*. Though I have found quotations from this treatise of Dharmakīrti, I do not remember to have met with any passage in which the title itself is given. One *codanā* is cited, it is true, by Vidyānandi in his *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*, p. 78 ; but the quotation which follows is taken from chapter ii, *Codanāsūtra* of the *Ślokavārttika* by Kumārila, vv. 62, 63 (p. 65 of the "Chowkhamba" edition). [Perhaps the title is *codanā-naya* = *rtsod-paẖi-rigs-pa*.—F. W. T.]

(*a*) *asādhanāṅgavacana :*

(*b*) *adoṣodbhāvana :*

asādhanāṅgavacanam adoṣodbhāvanaṃ dvayoḥ
nigrahasthānatvam (*sic*) *anyat tu na yuktam iti neṣyate*

(quoted by Vācaspati, *NVTT.*, p. 723, and Jayanta, *Nyāyamañjarī*, Viz. S.S., p. 639).

This theory was against one of the classifications of the *Nyāyasūtras*, and therefore we should expect that, if *Dharmakīrti* had expounded his views before the *Nyāyavārttika* was written, Uddyotakara could not have helped refuting or referring to his doctrine. But in the *Vārttika*, in which he so often refutes the various systems of the Buddhist doctors, there is no mention of such a thesis. On the contrary, we find that Vācaspatimiśra, in his *Tātparyaṭīkā*, and specially Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī*, deal rather largely with the various *nigrahasthānas*, going into more detail than Uddyotakara, and clearly refuting the theories of Dharmakīrti, whom both of them quote very often. It is evident, therefore, that the alleged contemporariness of Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara has no foundation; on the other hand, we have arguments for supposing that Dharmakīrti followed Uddyotakara and lived between him and Vācaspati. This agrees with the fact that Dharmakīrti is unknown to Yuen Chuang,[1] who was a contemporary of Harṣa, in whose time Uddyotakara flourished. It has been supposed that this *Vādavidhi* is by Vasubandhu. It is true that Vācaspati speaks more than once of a *Saubandhava-lakṣaṇa Vāsubandhava-lakṣaṇa* (*NVTT.*, pp. 99, 218; new edition, p. 150); but, when Uddyotakara quotes the definition of the *pratijñā* as taken from the *Vādavidhi* (*sādhyābhidhānam pratijñā*, p. 121), Vācaspati does not say anything about its author; and so, in fact, if we limit ourselves to Sanskrit sources, the only reason for maintaining that this work is really by Vasubandhu is that, when Uddyotakara is referring (at p. 121) to a special definition of *vāda*, Vācaspati adds that Vasubandhu is responsible for it. But Chinese sources have preserved the titles of some works on logic written by Vasubandhu :—

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[1] *Cf.* Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit., p. 124.

論 式 discussion-rule.
論 軌 discussion-track.
論 心 discussion-heart.

(cf. Shen-t'ai's commentary on the *Nyāyadvāra*, chap. i, introduction, and Kwei-chi's commentary on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, *passim*).

The first Chinese name can be, in fact, restored as *vādavidhi*, as proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa.[1] This work is the *Rtsod.sgrub.pa* referred to by Diṅnāga in the commentary on his own *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Tibetan translation.[2] So that there is no doubt that the *Vādavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is really to be ascribed to Vasubandhu.

p. 27, note 1. There is no doubt that the metrical definition of the *pakṣa*, as given in *NV*. 119—

Svayaṃ sādhyatvenepsitaḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtaḥ

is to be ascribed to Diṅnāga. The fact that it is in verse excludes *a priori* the possibility that it is taken from the *Nyāyapraveśa*, where a very similar definition occurs :—

tatra pakṣaḥ prasiddhadharmī prasiddhaviśeṣeṇa viśiṣṭatayā svayaṃ sādhyatvenepsitaḥ.

But the first *kārikā* of the *Nyāyadvāraśāstra* is in Chinese :—

宗等多言說能立、是中唯隨自意樂、爲成所立說名宗、非彼相違義能遣。

which presupposes an original like this :—

pakṣādivacanānīti sādhanaṃ tatra ca svayaṃ
sādhyatvenepsitaḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtaḥ.

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[1] The 論 式 *Vādavidhi* is quoted by Diṅnāga himself in the commentary on the first *kārikā* of his *Nyāyadvāra*.

The other two titles have been restored by Vidyābhūṣaṇa as *vādamārga* and *vādakauśala* ; *vādamārga* is very hypothetical, *vādakauśala* is wrong : it should be *vādahṛdaya*. Cf. the *Upāyahṛdaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna.

[2] Art. cit., p. 590.

p. 29. *Hetucakra.* The couplet:

sapakṣe sann asan dvedhā pakṣadharmaḥ punas tridhā
pratyekam asapakṣe ca sad asad dvividhatvataḥ

occurs also in the *Nyāyadvāra*:—

宗法於同品謂有非有俱、於異品各三、有非有及二。

The stanza II is quoted as a *mūlakārikā* 本頌 in the commentary on the same work by Diṅnāga himself.

於同有及二在異無、是因、翻此名相違所餘皆不定。

In this same work (according to the Chinese translation) the nine forms of a syllogism are again expounded as follows (I give the probable restoration into Sanskrit):—

(*a*) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ prameyatvāt.*
(*b*) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt.*
(*c*) *prayatnānantarīyakaḥ* (*śabdo*) *'nityatvāt.*
(*d*) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt.*
(*e*) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ śrāvaṇatvāt.*
(*f*) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvāt.*
(*g*) *aprayatnānantarīyakaḥ śabdo 'nityatvāt.*
(*h*) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvāt.*
(*i*) *nityaḥ śabdo 'sparśatvāt.*

It is therefore evident, as suggested also by Mr. Randle, that in the table given by Vidyābhūṣaṇa "non-eternal" in No. V is to be corrected into "eternal".

As the subject is rather interesting for the history of formal logic in India, I think that it will be useful to translate here the section of the *Nyāyadvāra* connected with the various forms of syllogism and some portions at least of the commentary on it by Shen-t'ai, who compares the nine types of the *Nyāyadvāra* with the classification of the *Nyāyapraveśa*. This is a point worth noting, because it shows once more those differences between the two works which I had an opportunity of pointing out previously.

Nyāyadvāra: "In this way we have nine *pakṣadharmas*;

we shall briefly explain their characteristics, following the same order (as enunciated in the *kārikā*).

"(1) Sound is eternal because it is knowable.

"(2) Sound is non-eternal because it is a product.

"(3) Sound is the effect of some activity because it is non-eternal.

"(4) Sound is eternal because it is a product.

"(5) Sound is eternal because it is audible.

"(6) Sound is eternal because it is the effect of some activity.

"(7) Sound is not the effect of some activity because it is non-eternal.

"(8) Sound is non-eternal because it is the effect of some activity.

"(9) Sound is eternal because it is intangible."

Commentary by Shen-t'ai: "The first *pakṣadharma* is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa*. The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is knowable. One affirms the eternity of sound because of the *sapakṣa* of space, etc., and the *vipakṣa* of pot, etc. The *hetu*: Knowable is common to both *pakṣas* of the eternal and of the non-eternal. Therefore it is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa*. This argument is equal to the first of the six *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (= *sādhārana*).

"(ii) The second thesis is: Sound is non-eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is a product. The example is: Like a pot, etc. Now this *hetu* of its being a product is in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in the *vipakṣa*. This is a valid argument.

"(iii) The third thesis is: Sound is the effect of some activity. The *hetu* is: Because it is non-eternal. It corresponds to the fourth of the *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (*vipakṣaikadeśavṛttiḥ sapakṣavyāpī*). This *pakṣadharma* is only in some of the *vipakṣas*, but it is in all the *sapakṣas*. This *pakṣadharma* of being effect of an activity has the pot, etc., as its *sapakṣa*. The *hetu* of non-eternity can be found in every *sapakṣa*. Lightning, space, and so on, are the *vipakṣas*. Now, it can be found in some *vipakṣas*, as lightning, but it cannot be found in other *vipakṣas*, as space, etc. In this way the first triad has been explained. Now the second triad has to be expounded, that is to say, the contradictory reasons.[1]

"(iv) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is a product. Here the *sapakṣa* of the eternal is space, etc.; the *vipakṣa* is the pot and so on. The *hetu* is not in the *sapakṣa*, but in the *vipakṣa*.

"(v) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is audible. This argument is equal to the second of the six *anaikāntikas* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*; that is to say, the *asādhāraṇa*.

"(vi) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is the effect of some activity. Here the *sapakṣa* of the eternal is space, etc.; the *vipakṣa* are lightning, pot, etc. The *hetu* of its being the effect of some activity cannot be found in space, etc., nor in any other of its *sapakṣas*; it can be found only in some *vipakṣas*, as in pot, etc., but not in some others, as lightning. Therefore it is not in the *sapakṣa*, but partly is and partly is not in the *vipakṣa*.

"(vii) The thesis is: Sound is the effect of some activity. The *hetu* is: Because it is non-eternal. This argument is equal to the first of the six *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*. (Quotation follows.)

"(viii) The thesis is: Sound is non-eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is the effect of some activity. Here the *sapakṣa* of non-eternity is lightning, pot, etc. The *hetu* is found in some *sapakṣas*, as the pot, but not in others, as lightning. The *vipakṣa* of the non-eternal is space, and the *hetu* cannot be found in it. This also is a valid argument.

"(ix) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is:

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[1] So Shen-t'ai; but, in fact, only the first and third members of the triad are contradictory (*viruddha*); the middle one is inconclusive, *anaikāntika*.

Because it is intangible. It is equal to the fifth of the *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, *ubhayapakṣa ekadeśavṛttiḥ*."

Diṅnāga follows: "There are the nine kinds [of *pakṣadharmās*] included in the two *kārikās*: Eternal, non-eternal, derived from an activity, eternal, constant, stable are the majors, which have knowable, etc., as their (reciprocal) middle terms; knowable, product, non-eternal, product, non-eternal, effect of an activity, are the nine (middle terms). These are distinguished into (real) reasons, contradictory, inconclusive. Therefore a *mūlakārikā* says—

Tatra yaḥ san sajātīye, etc.

Among these nine there are only two valid reasons. That is to say, that which is in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in any *vipakṣa*, and also that which is and is not in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in the *vipakṣa*. That is to say, the middle (example), in the first and in the third triad."

p. 36, FRAGMENT Q. The verses in which the Buddhist refutes the *sāmānya* theory of the Vaiśeṣikas and which are quoted by the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* are to be found with others in addition in the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, fol. 138*b*—

na yāti na ca tatrāsīd asti paścān na cāṃśavat
jahāti pūrvam ādhāram aho vyasanasantatiḥ
tādātmyaṃ cen mataṃ jāter vyaktijanmany ajānatā
nāśe 'nāśaś ca keneṣṭas tadvac cānanvayo na kiṃ
vyaktijanmany ajātā ced āgatā nāśrayāntarāt.
prāg āsīn na ca taddeśe sā tayā saṅgatā kathaṃ
vyaktināśe na cen naṣṭā gatā vyaktyantaraṃ na ca
tacchūnye na sthitā deśe sā jātiḥ kveti kathyatām.
vyakter jātyādiyoge 'pi yadi jāteḥ sa neṣyate
tādātmyaṃ katham iṣṭaṃ syād anupaplutacetasāṃ.

It is worth noting that Prabhācandra quotes these verses in order to refute the *vyakti*-theory of the *Mīmāṃsakas* (and specially Kumārila, who is referred to by name and some of whose sentences are cited: *Ślokavārttika*, *ākṛtivāda*, vv. 37–8, Ed. cit., p. 555; *vanavāda*, vv. 44–5, 46, p. 624).

p. 61 (Appendix I). I have studied in another note the relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyadvāra*, and I have shown there that the Chinese tradition and the facts themselves perfectly agree with the hypothesis expressed by Mr. Randle as to the priority of the *Nyāyadvāra* to the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

It is a matter for regret that Mr. Randle had to base his arguments on the book of Sugiura, which is full of nonsense, and, if relied on, will certainly be the source of dangerous mistakes. For instance, what according to Sugiura is a "secondary idea" (p. 60) is nothing else but *anumāna*, so that the second *pratijñābhāsa* is not *vikalpaviruddha*, as tentatively restored by Mr. Randle, but *anumānaviruddha*, and the example of it given in the *Nyāyadvāra* is just the same as that of the *Nyāyapraveśa*: pot is eternal. The "*fine morning*", etc., is a mere speculation of Sugiura in order to explain what he calls a secondary idea. The Chinese presupposes an original like this: *dharmiṇy eva yat sādhyaṃ tat prasiddhapratyakṣānūmānābhyāṃ nirākṛtam; yathā-śabdo 'śrāvaṇaḥ; nityo ghaṭaḥ.* The example of *lokaviruddha* also has been invented by Sugiura ("women and money are abominable things").

The Chinese text: 又若於中由不共故、無有比量爲極成言相違義遣如說懷兎非月有故 presupposes: *athavā tatrāsādhāraṇān*[1] *niranumāne prasiddhavacanaviruddhārthanirākṛtaṃ; yathā-śaśī na candraḥ.* As to what Sugiura says, that Diṅnāga himself attributes the *trairūpya* doctrine to Sok-mok (= *Akṣapāda*), referred to by Mr. Randle, in no work of Diṅnāga do I remember to have found such a statement.

Another fragment by Diṅnāga is cited by Vācaspati (*NVT.*, new edition, p. 693), and it was identified by Vidyābhūṣaṇa as a quotation from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*: it contains the definition of the *jāti* called *kāryasama*:—

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[1] *Tatra* refers to the *sādhya*: the moon is *asādhāraṇa* because there is no other object which has the same attributes as the moon; because of its being *asādhāraṇa* it is not possible to find an example (*sādharmyāt dṛṣṭānta*), and therefore the *anumāna* is impossible.

kāryatvānyatvaleśena yat sādhyasiddhidarśanam
tat kāryasama.

The fragment is quoted also by *Kamalaśīla* in his *pañjikā* on the *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Śāntarakṣita (p. 48).

In the work that I have just named some other fragments from Diṅnāga are quoted:—

buddhijanmani puṃsaśca vikṛtir yady anityatā
athāvikṛtir ātmākhyaḥ pramāteti na yujyate

According to the commentator the verse 22 of *Ślokavārttika*, *Ātmavāda*, ed. cit., p. 694, is intended to refute just this passage of Diṅnāga.

Pārthasārathimiśra, in his *Nyāyaratnākara* (p. 150), quotes this verse together with another:—

buddhijanmani . . . na yujyate: tathā
varṣātapābhyāṃ kiṃ vyomnaś carmaṇy asti tayoḥ phalam
carmopamaś cet so 'nityaḥ khatulyaś ced asatsamaḥ

p. 288: *na jātiśabdo bhedānāṃ vācaka ānantyāt.*

This verse is referred to and refuted by Uddyotakara (*Nyāyavārttika*, p. 323, on N.S., II, ii, 67), when he is discussing the notion of *jāti*.

p. 301: *nīlotpalādiśabdā arthāntaranivṛttiviśiṣṭān arthān āhur.*

This passage also is referred to by Uddyotakara, ibid., p. 331.

p. 316: *sarvatrabhedād āśrayasyānucchedāt kṛtsnārthaparisamāpteś ca yathākramaṃ jātidharmā ekatvanityatvapratyekaparisamāptilakṣaṇā apoha evāvatiṣṭhanti tasmād guṇotkarṣād apy arthāntarāpoha eva śabdārthaḥ sādhu.*

In this passage also cf. Uddyotakara, p. 332.[1]

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[1] In all this long discussion Uddyotakara is refuting Diṅnāga: a comparison with the Tibetan translation of his works will ascertain how many fragments from him are quoted, in a more or less altered form, by the great *naiyāyika*. And it is important to see how in later logicians Diṅnāga takes the second place, while all the criticism is directed against Dharmakīrti; in fact, in the Jaina *nyāya* treatises, in Vācaspati himself, in Jayanta, in Varadarāja, etc., the quotations from Diṅnāga are very few compared with those from Dharmakīrti.

p. 369: *yadṛcchāśabdeṣu nāmnā viśiṣṭo 'rtha ucyate ḍittha iti jātiśabdeṣu jātyā gaur iti guṇaśabdeṣu guṇena śukla iti kriyāśabdeṣu kriyayā pācaka iti dravyaśabdeṣu daṇḍena daṇḍī viṣāṇīti.*

This quotation is given as from the *vṛtti* of the *Ācārya*[1]; it may be taken therefore from Diṅnāga's own *vṛtti* on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Evidently Pārthasārathimiśra is referring to this passage in his commentary on the *Ślokavārttika, pratyakṣasūtra* 226, pp. 200–1.

p. 572: (*a*) *yad antarjñeyarūpaṃ tu bahirvad avabhāsate*
so 'rtho vijñānarūpatvāt tatpratyayatayāpi ca.

(*b*) *athavā śaktyarpaṇāt krameṇāpi so 'rthāvabhāsaḥ svānurūpakāryotpattaye śaktiṃ vijñānācārāṃ karotīty avirodhaḥ.*

(*c*) *yady apīndriyavijñapter grāhyāṃśaḥ karaṇaṃ bhavet*
atadābhatayā tasyā nākṣavad viṣayaḥ sa tu.

(*d*) *mā bhūt sarvathālambanapratiṣedhe pratītibādhā. sattā; ālambanādhipatisamanantarahetupratyayatvalakṣaṇāś catasraḥ pratyayitā iti sūtre vacanād abhyupetabādhāpīti, avirodhapratipādanāya yathāvidha ālambanapratyayo 'bhīpsitaḥ sūtre, loke ca tathā pratipāditaṃ saṃvṛtyā na paramārthataḥ; paramārthatas tu nirālambanāḥ sarva eva pratyayāḥ.*

SOME EARLY BUDDHIST RELIEFS IDENTIFIED

1. *Bharhut*

In *Mémoires conçernant l'Asie orientale*, Tome 111, 1919, p. 41, etc., M. Foucher has published a list of representations of this Jātaka, calling attention for the first time to a now well-known relief of the "Gift of the Elephant" from Bharhut, later republished by Chanda (*ASAR.* 1921–2) and by myself (*HIIA.*, fig. 47). There is, however, another episode of this Jātaka represented at Bharhut; the fragmentary panel shows the Brahman Jūjaka (1) seated cross-legged in meditation in his leaf hut, and (2) leading away the two children of the Bodhisattva, Jāli and Kaṇhā.

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[1] [Presumably the context forbids a reference to Udayana, who is often cited by the title *Ācārya*.—F. W. T.]

This fragment has not been published, but appears in the India Office photograph, Record 2260, Serial 1050.

Other additions to the list can be made as follows :—

Gandhāra : Example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston *MFA. Bulletin*, No. 140, and *HIIA.*, fig. 93) ; also, but doubtful, a fragment from Sahri-Bahlol published in *ASAR.*, 1911–12, p. 105, and pl. xxxviii, fig. 5, second row, centre.

Nepal : Painted book cover in the possession of Professor A. N. Tagore, reproduced in *HIIA.*, fig. 279. The remainder of the panel, not shown in my reproduction, illustrates (1) the gift of the horses, and (2) the drawing of the carriage by the wild deer.

Ceylon : Poḷonnāruva, in a fresco of the Northern Temple (so-called Demaḷa Maha Sẹya), see *Arch. Surv. Ceylon, Ann. Rep.* 1909, p. 32, and pl. A ; Degaldoruva, my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece ; Kelaṇiya, Kramrisch, S., "Some wall paintings from Kelaṇiya," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, i, 1925. Sinhalese illustrations of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, apparently of early nineteenth century date, are also reproduced in Upham, E., *History and Doctrine of Budhism*, London, 1929 ; the gift of the elephant is shown in the usual way.

Amarāvatī : It is worth remarking that in all three of the *Vessantara Jātaka* reliefs from Amarāvatī (Burgess, pls. xxii, 1, and xlii, 2, and Fergusson, pl. lxv, 1) the "four Sind horses" of the text are represented by humped bulls.

Further, in M. Foucher's list, under Sanchi, add : Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 53 ; after fig. 144 read : (= Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. cli) ; and for *ASAR.* 1909–10, pl. xvii, read *ASAR.* 1909–10, pl. xviii.

The large corner pillar relief, Cunningham, pl. xix, with the inscription *Bra(h)ma deva mānavako*, to be translated "the youthful Brahmā (entreats the Buddha to teach)". Brahmā is distinguished by his long coiled locks and absence of a turban ; as described in the *Lalita Vistara*, where he is designated Śikhī Mahābrahmā.

The outer face of the Prasenajit pillar (Cunningham, pls. xiii–xv, left) has been variously interpreted. I propose an explanation in which all three panels are regarded as parts of one composition. Above, the Bodhi tree with throne and triśūla symbols below represents as the inscription informs us, the Great Enlightenment (*bodho*) of the Blessed One. The two deities represented above, on the right and left, have their hands to their mouths, a gesture of astonishment or admiration. The panel below, connected with the upper panel by the elephant pillar, contains twenty-one figures ;. one is hideous and evidently a Yakṣa, two have Nāga hoods in their turbans, one is winged, and one is seated writing on the ground, and all but the first and last mentioned are in attitudes of worship. The worshipping figures are arranged in four groups of four or five in each. Three inscriptions refer to the Northern, Southern, and Eastern quarters, mentioning the Suddhāvāsa and Kāmāvacāra deities respectively in the East and South. There must have been a fourth inscription referring to the West, below on the left where the railing is broken away ; it is noteworthy that the two Nāgas are represented in this region, which is the one proper to Virūpākṣa, who is ruler of the Nāgas. The winged deity may be compared with two similar ones in the Arhadgupta scene of the Ajātaśatru pillar, Cunningham, pl. xvi, centre.

In my view the whole composition represents the Mahāsaṁbodhi and is immediately subsequent to the Māra Dharsaṇa. The nineteen worshipping figures are deities assembled from the four quarters, honouring the Buddha after his victory. The one hideous Yakṣa represents Māra's army. Māra himself is grieving over his defeat ; " writing on the ground," in Oriental phraseology, is a common evidence of perplexity. The *Nidānakathā* tells us that after his defeat, Māra overcome with sorrow sat down on the highway, drawing sixteen lines on the ground, corresponding to his sixteen regrets, and there his daughters beheld him, " sad at heart, writing on the ground " ; this places the identification of the figure of Māra beyond doubt. The dancers below, designated in the inscriptions as Alambusā, etc., four in number, are not the daughters of Māra, but as the inscriptions further inform us, Apsaras performing the "music of the gods" (*tūram devānáṁ*): a similar group is represented on the Ajātaśatru pillar, Cunningham, pl. xvi, left, in honour of the Turban Relic enshrined in the Sudharmā Sabhā.

As regards the various inscriptions (Cunningham, pl. xv, right, and pl. xlviii, 11) containing the word *naḍode*, or *naḍode pavate*, it has been pointed out that the phrase means "on Mt. Naḍoda"; it may be suggested also that *naḍoda pavate* = *naḷagire* "on Mt. Naḷa". But Naḷagiri seems to be known only as the name of an elephant. Presumably Mt. Naḷa was famous for its elephants, and possessed a cetiya worshipped by elephants. There is another inscription (Cunningham, pl. xlviii, 6) reading *abode cetiyaṁ* (I cannot see *aṁbode*); does not this mean "the cetiya on (Mt.) Arbuda", i.e. Abū?

The Bharhut tree-spirit bestowing food and water (Cunningham, pl. xlviii, 11: same subject at Bodhgayā, Burgess, pl. viii, 4) may illustrate the story of the Treasurer, monks, and tree-spirit found in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, i, p. 277).[1] It is certainly not a Bodhi-maṇḍa vyūha scene. In this connexion note 3 on page 47 of my *HIIA*. should be ignored; the correct explanation of the Sāñcī scene there referred to is given by Marshall, *Guide to Sanci*, p. 64.

The *Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka* is represented in a medallion, Cunningham, pl. xxvi, 6; probably the same Jātaka is referred to in the coping relief of Cunningham, pl. xliii, 6, where there are two elephants, one of which has six tusks.

On the other hand, it does not seem to me that we are justified in calling the four-tusked elephant of the Ananta Gumphā, Oṛissā, by the name Ṣaḍdanta (Foucher, *Les*

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[1] The same interpretation is given by Chanda, R.P., in Mem. A.S.I., No. 30, received after these notes were in type.

représentations . . . , pp. 14, 47); not only has it not six tusks, but the cave is Jaina, not Buddhist. There is another four-tusked elephant in the Svargapuri cave.

As regards the *Aṇḍa-bhūta Jātaka*, Cunningham, pl. xxvi, 8, it is worth noting that the female figure on the right is wearing (as can be clearly seen in a better photograph than that of Cunningham's plate) the characteristically Indian ornament known as a *channavīra* [1]; this ornament appears already on the well-known Besnagar Yakṣī (*HIIA.*, fig. 8), also on some very early, perhaps Indo-Sumerian, terracottas recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,[2] and very commonly in later Indian art. The same ornament is worn by the dancing Yakṣa of Māra's darbār, Sāñcī, north toraṇa, middle architrave, back; but it is not by any means exclusive to dancers.

2. *Mathurā*

The Bharhut Jātaka relief of Cunningham, pl. xxvii, 14, has been correctly identified by Hultzsch (*JRAS.* 1912, p. 399) as illustrating the *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, No. 528. I have now recognized a later episode of the same Jātaka in the upper medallion of a railing pillar, J. 2 in the Mathurā Museum, which is illustrated on a small scale in *HIIA.*, fig. 59. The relief shows a Brahman standing, with an umbrella in his left hand and the right hand raised; he is evidently addressing the group of persons before him, some of whom are seated. The Pali text tells us that the Bodhisattva, having first put to shame the five wicked councillors (whereat the king "collapsed and sat down") and taught the Truth to the king himself, sent for the four sons, reconciled them with their father, and prevented the latter from inflicting an unduly severe punishment on the councillors. This accounts for the ten persons represented in the relief, and places the identification beyond doubt.

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[1] Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, i, p. 31.

[2] See *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 152.

3. *Pāṭaliputra*

The early (? about 200 B.C.) railing found by Waddell at Pāṭaliputra [1] and now in the Calcutta Museum has never received the attention it deserves from several points of view.

M. Foucher (*Les répresentations de Jātaka . . . , ut cit. supra*, p. 11) has called attention to representations of the Yakkhinī Assa-mukhi at Bodhgayā and Sāñcī, and suggests a connexion with the *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka*, No. 432. One of the Pāṭaliputra railing medallions (Waddell, pl. 1) combines the data presented in the Bodhgayā and Sāñcī examples; all three persons are represented. The man and the Yakkhinī are evidently on good terms; the latter carries the child on her hip. It can hardly be doubted that the child is the Bodhisattva of the Jātaka, and that the three medallions all actually refer to the Jātaka in question.

The, or a, Yakkhiṇī Assa-mukhi is also represented at Bhājā ("Indra relief of the verandah": *HIIA.*, fig. 27), where she is accompanied by a man who holds a dagger in his hand, and seems to draw back. The immediate surroundings, full of wild animals and strewn with their bones, certainly looks like the "vast forest at the foot of a mountain", which was the Yakkhinī's haunt. The dagger suggests resistance, and if the Jātaka is here intended, the episode must be that of the Yakkhinī's capture of her husband. But it seems a little doubtful whether it can be assumed that in a subordinate detail in so large a scene the Jātaka is really referred to. Certainly when we find Assa-mukhi represented amongst the peaks of Govardhana in a later Kṛṣṇa-Govardhanadhara relief at Maṇḍor (*HIIA.*, fig. 166), she is present, not with reference to the Jātaka, but like the lion and the snakes, as a typical denizen of the jungle. "Assa-mukhi" is rather the designation of a type than a personal name; cf. the Yakkhinī *Vaḷavā-rūpā* or *Vaḷavā-mukha* of *Mahāvaṁsa*, chaps. ix, x.

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[1] Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pāṭaliputra*, 1903, pls. i, and iii.

The square panel immediately to the left of the Assamukhi medallion above referred to (Waddell, ib.) represents a Nāga standing beside a tree and an ant-hill on which a bird is perched. The Nāga has seven hoods, which rise above the human form; the right hand is raised, the left on the hip, the pose most characteristic in early Indian sculpture. There are two water vessels on the ground in the foreground. This probably illustrates one of the Nāga Jātakas; presumably the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, No. 543, where it is expressly stated that there stood a banyan-tree near the ant-hill on which the Nāgarāja practised his fast.

One other medallion on the same plate represents a king seated, with his wife on his thigh and a child beside him; I cannot identify this. There are also some figures on the coping fragment above.

A medallion on another part of the railing (Waddell, loc. cit., pl. iii, on the left) represents what looks like a dog gazing up into the air; but by comparison with the Bharhut representation of the *Kukkuṭa Jātaka* (Cunningham, pl. xlvii, 5) it would appear that the "dog" must really be the cat in that story, looking up at the cock on the tree.

Finally, the railing uprights of the same plate exhibit three pairs (*mithuna*) of persons, male and female, perhaps Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, standing under trees. A general account of such auspicious pairs, which appear also on Śuṅga terra-cottas, and commonly in the later art, has been given by Gangoly.[1] To this I would add that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x, 5, 2, 8, informs us that "*mithuna* means a productive couple". Such amorous couples seem to have suggested an auspicious fertility. In connexion with the later, more specifically erotic types of the Sūrya Deul at Konārak, it may be informing to cite the ritual intercourse which took place at the Mahāvrata ceremony "when the strengthening of the sun was an essential duty".[2]

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[1] O. C. Gangoly, *The Mithuna in Indian Art*, Rūpam, 22–3, 1925.

[2] A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 351.

4. *Amarāvatī*

The Tibetan text translated by Rockhill[1] describes the presentation of the infant Siddhārtha in the temple of the tutelary Yakṣa of the Śākyas; according to the text, "It was the habit of the Śākyas to make all new-born children bow down at the feet of a statue of the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana (*Śākya-sphel* or *-spel*); so the king took the young child to the temple, but the Yakṣa bowed down at his feet . . . and when the king saw the Yakṣa bow down at the child's feet, he exclaimed 'He is the god of gods!' and the child was therefore called Devatideva".

The same tradition appears in the Chinese *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* (the late sixth century version by Jñānakuṭi[2]), but here the deity's name, in Chinese, is Tsang Chang, for which the equivalent Dīrghavardhana has been suggested.

This event is twice illustrated at Amarāvatī; the two reliefs are illustrated in Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. lxix and xci, 4, the second relief, and perhaps also the first, being now in the British Museum. In Fergusson, xci, 4, the "Presentation" forms the last of a group of four nativity scenes, the three others representing the Conception, the Interpretation of the Dream, and the Nativity in the Lumbinī Garden.[3] In the garden scene the Four Devas are present, holding a cloth on which the presence of the infant is indicated by two small feet. In the Presentation panel a woman, presumably Mahāprajāpati, holds in both hands the same cloth, and the presence of the child is again indicated by the two small feet. Mahāprajāpati is accompanied only by two female attendants, one of whom bears the royal umbrella. She stands before a *rukkha-cetiya*, viz. a sacred tree with its altar; and half emerging from this altar is the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, leaning forward with joined hands and bowing to the child. This seems to represent the Yakṣa in person rather than a statue; we do not know whether Yakṣa statues were ever actually set up under trees. Fergusson suggests that it is the king in his bath! The Yakṣa type, with the conspicuous belly, is clearly recognizable.

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[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur*, ch. ii; cf. Csoma de Koros, *Analysis of the Kah-Gyur*, Asiatic Researches, xx, p. 289.

[2] S. Beal, *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 52.

[3] A more satisfactory reproduction will be found in my *Yakṣas*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, 1928.

The second representation of this scene, Fergusson, pl. lxix, is a medallion, broken above, but still not far from complete. Mahāprajāpati, as before, is holding out the cloth on which the Bodhisattva's feet can be seen; the Yakṣa is leaning forward from a sort of booth or pavilion that may be called a temple. Behind Mahāprajāpati stands King Śuddhodana, with some musicians on the extreme right; the rest of the composition is occupied by numerous female attendants.

Another excellent, though small, example of the Presentation scene forms the fifth from the right of the series of six scenes from the Life of the Buddha which decorate the stupa represented on the well-known slab from Amarāvatī, now in the Madras Museum, and reproduced in Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, pl. i; this version closely corresponds to the first described above, except that a larger number of female attendants is represented.

These scenes, now for the first time identified, seem to be the only extant versions following what must be the older form of the story. The episode is greatly elaborated in the *Lalita Vistara*, chap. viii, where the temple is full of statues of gods, Śiva, Sūrya, etc., and all bow down to the child; in this form the story is illustrated at Borobuḍur.[1]

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
BOSTON.
28th October, 1927.

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[1] N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the stūpa of Barabuḍur according to the Lalita Vistara text*, 1926, p. 40.

A PLURAL FORM IN THE PRAKRIT OF KHOTAN

Dr. Barnett's note (*supra*, 1927, p. 848) on this subject furnishes an opportunity for two observations :—

(1) As regards the matter of an Iranian origin of the plural with *ca*, Iranian influence in Khotan is to me, as perhaps has been shown, not unwelcome. In particular, it seems possible that the lawyers may have been frequently Persian, unless we are deceived by the instance of the *divira* Mogata, son of Tamaspa (Tahmasp), occurring in a number of legal documents: similarly, the several references in No. 686 to selling to "the Chinese" (*Cinana*) of various places suggests that "Chinaman" and "trader" may have been *quasi* interchangeable expressions.

A borrowing from Iranian of a mere plural termination seems, however, in itself not very likely. Moreover, the plural in *ca* did not even exist in Iranian: upon referring to the examples quoted by Dr. Barnett from Dr. Reichell's *Avesta Grammar* it will be seen that in them the *ca* has its ordinary meaning of "and", and has no bearing upon plurals in *ca*.

(2) It would be interesting if we could somehow connect the pluralizing *ca* with the employment of *ca*, τε, *que*, in Sk. *kaśca*(*na*), Iranian *kaśca*, Gk. ὅστε, ὥστε, ἐφ' ᾧτε, Latin *quisque* ("whosoever" and "each"), *undique*, *ubique*, etc., of which I do not remember reading any very illuminating discussion.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE STORY OF BABAR'S DEATH

Referring to my communication on the story of Bābur's death (*Journal*, April, 1926, p. 295), I write to point out that my contention that Bābar's fatal illness was unconnected with Humāyūn's disease is supported by the silence of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 402, Elias and Ross' translation). Mirza Haidar, the writer of the *Tārīkh*, was in India within ten years of Bābar's death, and would probably have heard the popular story if it had been current at the time, as his silence may be taken as significant.

SRI RAMA SHARMA.

KAUSAMBI

Rai Bahadur Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, in his article on Kauśāmbi published in *JRAS.* 1927, page 698, mentions two Brahmi inscriptions found in the villages in the neighbourhood of Kosam. These were installed in the reigns of certain Maharajas named Śivamegha and Bhadramegha, *who are not said to be known from any other source.* Now Mr. Pargiter, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, page 73, says that in the third century of the Christian era, nine very powerful and wise kings, known as Meghas, ruled in Kosala, but nothing more is known about them. Have we not some reason to suppose that these powerful Meghas of Kosala governed a territory including the present district of Allahabad after the downfall of the Kauśāmbi kingdom ?

Sita Ram.

RETHARE BUDRUK PLATES OF MADHAVA-VARMAN

During the last Easter holidays I took a trip to Khānāpur in the Satara district with a few friends. An acquaintance of mine had informed me that Mr. Dadasahib Mane, of Khānāpur, had in his possession some inscribed copper-plates. The latter gentleman had invited me to his village on several occasions. He was delighted to see us, and with little hesitation produced the plates. We were told that they contained a grant made to his ancestors by a king of Bedar. When asked by my friends as to the contents of the record, I assured them that the grant did not concern the Mane family. Further, I promised to send a preliminary short note in Marāthī[1] to be read at the next conference of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśōdhaka-Maṇḍala of Poona and to contribute a summary in English to the *JRAS.* as early as possible.

The grant was incised apparently on three copper-plates, measuring 11$\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 5$\frac{1}{2}$ in., the first of which is unfortunately not forthcoming. The margins are folded over and beaten down so as to serve as rims. The inscription is cut on both the sides of the second and on the inner one of the third. It is of much geographical interest for Mahārāṣṭra, especially the Satara district. Beyond the new name of a prince, it contains no historical information. Further details regarding his ancestors are wanting. The genealogy of the family may have been mentioned in the missing plate. But the prince cannot be identified with any Mādhava-varman or Mādhava known to history. His identification with the Mādhava whose name occurs in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant of Dharmarāja [1] is impossible on paleographic grounds. No such king is mentioned in Dr. Kielhorn's lists.

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[1] Not yet published.

I call the plates the Rētharē Budruk plates (though brought to light at Khānāpur), against the usual practice of naming the records after the villages in which they are discovered. To me it seems more appropriate to call them after the villages granted.

The present record may be assigned to the sixth or the seventh century A.D. on epigraphic grounds. No era or regnal year is noted on the second or the third plate. The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a village, which is written by the devout and veracious Kāyastha Śrīpāla. The donor is the illustrious Mādhava-varman, who is styled *Cāturāśramya-dharma-karma-sētu*, i.e. the bridge of the rites and customary observances of the four stages of the religious life of Brāhmaṇs. He cannot have been a very powerful potentate, as the usual high-sounding titles are absent. He may, perhaps, have been a feudatory of the Caḷukya overlords. The names of the donees are Bōlasvāmin and Kēśava-svāmin, engaged in performing the duties of the Sanātana-dharma, "the everlasting religion." It is interesting to come across this stock word in our record. The Brāhmaṇ grantees must have been students of the Sāma-vēda, as they are styled Chandōgas.

The village granted is Rēṭṭūraka. It was situated to the south-east of the river Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā. In ordinary speech, at present, the river Kṛṣṇā is called Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā up to the confluence at Māhulī, not far from Satara. But at the time of bathing at the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Kōyanā or Kakudmatī at Karad (or more correctly Karhāḍ), the stream is named Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā. From the present inscription it is evident that it was known as Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā as far as Rēṭṭūraka. Nor need this surprise us. The Kṛṣṇā itself was called Vēṇṇā. It is probable that the two rivers Kṛṣṇā and Vēṇṇā after their confluence at Māhulī were called by the joint name Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā.

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[1] My paper on these plates is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.*

The modern form of Rēṭṭūraka would be Rētharē. There are four villages of this name in the Satara district, viz. Rētharē Budruk, Rētharē Khurd, Rētharē Hariṇākṣa, and Dharaṇācē Rētharē. The last is not situated near the river Kṛṣṇā. As the village granted lay to the south-east, it is clear that Rētharē Budruk is the modern representative of Rēṭṭūraka, as it is still in that direction. Tambatīrtha and Kadambatīrtha cannot at present be satisfactorily identified. But the former may have been at Tāmbavē (2½ miles from Rētharē Budruk) in the Walwa taluka. Bēlavāṭikā must be Bēlavaḍē, 3 miles from the village granted, *vāṭikā* being only an addition meaning a garden. Kōlikāvāṭikā is identical with Kōḷē (2 miles from Rētharē Budruk), in the Walwa taluka. Vaṭṭarikā is evidently Vāṭār or Vāṭhār, about 2 miles west of Rētharē Budruk. These latter places were then only gardens or hamlets of Rēṭṭūraka. The village is conferred along with these *vāṭikās*, corresponding to modern *vāḍis*. The mountain mentioned in the inscription must be Macchindragaḍa, 10 miles from Karhāḍ.

The grant was formally made on the Paurṇimā of Vaiśākha, called Mahā-Vaiśākhī-Paurṇimā in the record.

Y. R. Gupte,
Late Asst. Supt. for Epigraphy.

ON VALLABHADEVA AND HIS SUBHĀṢITÂVALI

The only important point raised by Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya in his communication (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 135–7) on my note on the date of the *Subhāṣitâvali* (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 471–7) is his doubt regarding the identity of the Vallabhadeva cited by Sarvânanda in his *Ṭīkā-sarvasva.* He suggests that Sarvânanda's Vallabhadeva was an earlier Vallabhadeva who is cited in the anthologies (including our *Subhāṣitâvali*) and who himself composed an independent book of verses, named also *Subhâṣitâvali*, probably in *āryā*-metre, quite distinct from the anthology before us. He would agree with Peterson's surmise that this earlier Vallabhadeva was the famous commentator of that name, to whom he would assign the date "say about 1000 A.D." This suggestion is indeed ingenious, but wholly hypothetical.

In my note at p. 472, footnote 1, I have referred to this other Vallabhadeva, but I·am inclined to believe that Sarvânanda in the passage under discussion (p. 471) does not cite this commentator Vallabhadeva but the compiler of the anthology bearing the same name. For Sarvânanda elsewhere quotes the scholiast Vallabhadeva with a distinct reference to his commentaries on *Kumāra-s°* and *Śiśupāla-v°*. Citing *Śiśu°* v, 24, Sarvânanda remarks: *iti Māgha-śloke Vallabhena āpaṇam āvārikā vipaṇir haṭṭa iti vyākhyātam* (on *Amara°*, ii, 2, 2). Again, quoting one line from *Kumāra-s°*, v, 74, Sarvânanda comments: *iti Kumāra-sambhave pravepamānābhyām adharābhyāṃ lakṣyaḥ kopo yasyā iti Vallabhena vivṛtam* (on ii, 6, 89). This scholiast and his commentaries on *Kumāra-s°* and *Śiśupāla-v°* were thus known to Sarvânanda, but the scholiast is quoted by him as Vallabha, with a pointed reference to his commentaries. The compiler of the anthology, on the other hand, is quoted by Sarvânanda as Kāśmīra-Vallabhadeva (probably to distinguish him from the other Vallabha of scholiastic reputation), along with a pointed reference to his *Subhāṣitâvali*, from which a verse is also directly quoted.

Much capital need not be made out of the word *racita*, which need not always mean " compose ". excluding the idea of compilation. At any rate, it cannot be taken as the foundation of a conjecture that the scholiast Vallabha composed a book of verse, for which supposition there is no evidence. All that is known of this commentator Vallabhadeva (or Vallabha, as Sarvânanda calls him twice) I have tried to put together in my *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, pp. 96–8, vol. ii, p. 378, and I may be pardoned for refraining from repetition. It is interesting to note that the problem is complicated by the fact that this Vallabha was also probably a Kashmirian, who belonged to the first half of the tenth century A.D. ; but it seems to me that Sarvânanda knew both of them and their writings and carefully distinguished them in the manner indicated above.

It may be worth while also to note that if, as Mr. Bhattacharyya believes, all the citations in the commentary to the *Nīti-vākyâmṛta* are from the hypothetical *Subhāṣitâvali* of the earlier Vallabhadeva, then this work could not have been, as the quotations themselves show, composed " probably in the *āryā*-metre ". It is quite probable that the ascriptions in anthologies are not always correct ; but that does not affect the present question, and there is no evidence to show that later anthologies borrow from this work.

As the dates of Śrīharṣa and the author of the *Prasanna-rāghava* cannot be said to have been settled beyond doubt, the point raised in the latter part of Mr. Bhattacharyya's note does not arise. If the dates of Śrīvara and Bilvamaṅgala conflict with the date suggested by Sarvânanda's reference, we have no other alternative but to regard their verses found in the *Subhāṣitâvali* as later interpolations. The question, I must confess, is not without difficulty, and I have admitted it fully in my previous article under question, but I still believe that no new fact or evidence has been put forward which would make me revise my views. S. K. DÉ.

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA.
7th February, 1928.

DĀR-UR-RAḲĪḲ

Mr. Le Strange, in his book *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, speaks of the Dār-ur-Raḳīḳ (p. 123) and mentions a variant Daḳīḳ which he rejects. In the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (Paris, 1890), p. 203, the name is ܩܛܝܢܐ ܕܩܡܚܐ, which is a translation of Daḳīḳ and is fairly good evidence for that name.

A. S. Tritton.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEIDEN

The "Kern Institute" for Indian Archæology, founded at the University of Leiden in 1924, has started, as appears from its first Annual Report (published at Leiden in 1927), a collection of letters of the great Dutch scholar whose name was connected with the Institute. Most of the letters collected —among which are the last lines written by Kern in 1917—have been ceded to the Institute by Dutch scholars. The value of the collection would, however, be enhanced considerably if it could be enriched by the extensive correspondence which Kern has had with foreign scholars.

For this reason the "Kern Institute" appeals to all who are in possession of letters of Kern or who are able to give information as to the existence of such letters, in asking them kindly to send these documents to the Institute or to give information about them. Any collaboration to the enrichment of the collection of the Institute will be highly appreciated.

All communications will be gladly received at the address of the secretary: J. H. Kramers, Hooglandsche Kerkgracht 21, Leiden.

RUSSO-GERMAN ALAI-EXPEDITION

This Expedition, May to December, 1928, is a joint undertaking of the Soviet Government (Academy of Leningrad) and the German scientific authorities. The object is the glaciological, geological, and meteorological investigation of the Alai mountains in Western Turkestan. The expedition is under the leadership of Mr. W. R. Rickmers, the author of the *Duab of Turkestan.* The Russian members are N. L. Korshenewsky, Professor of Geography, Taschkent; Professor Bielayeff, of Pulkova; Professor Zimmermann, of Taschkent. The German members are Dr. L. Nōth, Innsbruck, geologist; Dr. R. Finsterwelder, Munich, cartography; Dr. R. Lentz, Berlin, ethnology. In addition there will be four young mountaineers delegated by the German and Austrian Alpine Club.

This is to be the beginning of a systematic collection of data towards the chronological comparison of the ice-ages in the Alps and Turkestan.

A LOST MANUSCRIPT OF MARCO POLO

It has not strayed further than the shelves of the British Museum, but still the history is curious and shows how a scholar like Yule or a bibliographer like Cordier can be caught napping. When the "Geographic Text" of Marco Polo was printed by the Société de Géographie in 1824 (*Recueil de Voyages, etc.*, tome i) use was made among other MSS. of an imperfect Latin text which was then in the library of Baron Walckenaer. In 1839 the Société de Géographie printed the *Mirabilia* of Jordan of Sévérac from the unique MS. in the same library, and it was clearly stated in the Introduction (*Recueil, etc.*, tome iv, p. 3) that the same volume contained also the said MS. of Marco Polo which had been used in 1824. When, therefore, in 1863 Yule translated the *Mirabilia* from the printed text of 1839, he must have known that Baron Walckenaer's MSS. of the *Mirabilia* and of Marco Polo had been in one volume, but he did not know what had become of that volume when the Baron's books were sold in 1853. A reviewer told him that the *Mirabilia* was in the British Museum, and he reports the fact, evidently without having verified it, in *Cathay*, 1866. The statement is repeated without comment by Cordier in the new edition of *Cathay*, vol. iii, 1914, p. 39. In the list of MSS. of Marco Polo in his first edition of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1871, Yule registers Baron Walckenaer's MS. (No. 23) as "A Miscellaneous Volume" (proving that he had seen an account of the contents) with the note "*Present locality not known*", and this is repeated by Cordier in the third edition, 1903, under No. 28; and no further remark is made in *Ser Marco Polo*, 1920. When at last Cordier printed the whole Table of Contents (seven items) of Baron Walckenaer's volume in *Les Merveilles de l'Asie*, 1925, p. 44, he did so without the least hint that here at last was the lost MS. of Marco Polo. Finally Professor L. F. Benedetto of Florence says on p. cxliii of his magnificent edition of Marco Polo (*Il Milione*, 1928): "We do not know to what library, very probably American, the codex which once belonged to Baron Walckenaer may have migrated." He calls the MS. abbastanza notevole (as far as the old extracts and notices allow him to judge) and proceeds to give an accurate account of the volume and of some of its other contents, including the *Mirabilia*.

The volume is known in the British Museum as Add. 19513, and is described in the *Catalogue of Additions 1848–53*, 1868, p. 248, where also "Paulus (Marchus)" is duly indexed. The book seems at some time to have come out of its covers and *Mirabilia* has been wrongly inserted at the beginning instead of at the end. The leaves are numbered in pencil. Marco Polo begins on fol. 85 r°: Incipit prologus in librum domini marchi pauli de uenetiis de condictionibus & consuetudinibus orientalium regionum. and ends fol. 132v°: possunt ab homine uel It consists of four gatherings (the fifth having been lost before 1824) of twelve leaves each: 85–96 with the catchword [in domo]; 97–108 [porrigunt]; 109–120 [scedant]; 121–132 [a bestia.]. The writing is of the fourteenth century, two columns to a page. The first two gatherings are ruled with 34 lines to the column while the third and fourth are ruled only on two or three pages and have 33 and 32 lines to a column respectively. There can be no possible doubt that this is the MS. used in 1824, but the readings do not seem to have been very carefully copied then. It reads, for instance, (at least in the rubric) *tygui* where 1824 gives nothing but *Thingchingui.*

Thus has this manuscript, properly catalogued and indexed, lain hid in the British Museum for three quarters of a century.

A. C. M.

V. D. SMIRNOV: A MEMOIR

The 22nd May, 1927, was the fifth anniversary of the death of Vasili Dimitriyevich Smirnov, the most noted among Russian scholars of Ottoman-Turkish, late Professor of Turkish language and literature. His long life (1846–1922) was very rich in events; his career shows how, a son of poor and uncultured parents, he made for himself a name for vast erudition and thoroughly reliable scientific work. His strong character knew no obstacle, either in the primary seminary of Astrakhan or at the university of Petersburg. People of character being very rare in Russia, in this quality of his nature Smirnov resembled a foreigner, but he remained very Russian as far as the other features of his character were concerned. Some carelessness in method and his typical Russian humour, like that of Gogol, are clearly reflected in his published work. His thoughts were always original, sometimes even derisive and sarcastic. His way of always speaking the truth in addition to his humour, did not gain him many friends, but he had no great need for them. Professor of the University, Curator of the Turkish section at the Public Library, member and for a long time secretary of the well-known Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society, he worked hard. Knowing well many Turkish dialects, such as Tatar, Chaghatai, and others, he specialized in Ottoman-Turkish. All his chief works are devoted to this language and its folk-lore. He made a sketch of Ottoman-Turkish literature, based upon original sources, when Europe had nothing similar.[1] He published a large collection of Ottoman-Turkish texts for educational purposes[2]: even now this is the only work of the kind for this language. A very good connoisseur of manuscripts, he worked much in the libraries of Budapest, Paris, and London, and described the important Russian collection of Turkish manuscripts.[3] His two theses are fundamental works for Turkish literature and history.[4] Analysing not only Turkish sources, but also Slavonic and Greek, he gives etymologies of words connected with culture, history, etc.[5] Being acquainted with all the Turkish editions in Russia, he always had considerable material for his articles at his disposal. He was particularly interested in Russo-Turkish historical relations; in connexion with it we may cite a very precious manuscript of تاریخ فندقلیلی (Tārīkh-i Funduqlülü), found by him and partially published in his chrestomathy. Already known in Europe as a member of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists,[6] another discovery of his made him known to English science as well. During one of his numerous excursions to Turkey he acquired a manuscript of مهری خاتون (Mihrī khātūn), which is still unique (see E. J. W. Gibb's, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. ii, p. 132); at his death he had not edited the whole دیوان, and the manuscript still remains in the possession of his widow, N. K. Smirnov. His chief lines of study were Turkish literature, folk-lore, and history, and their relation to Russian history and life ; he was not a compiler, but always worked as a pioneer, and left in all these branches many works and many deep thoughts. Russia had in his person the first great specialist of Ottoman-Turkish and we fear she will not have another like him.

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[1] "Ocherk istorii tureckoj literatury," *SPB.*, 1892.

[2] "Obrazcovyja proizvedenija osmanskoj literatury," *SPB.*, 1891 and 1903 (2nd ed.).

[3] "Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales vivantes du Ministère des affaires etrangères, vol. viii, Manuscrits Turcs," *SPB.*, 1897.

[4] Their titles: Kuchibej Gomurginskij . . .", *SPB.*, 1873, and "Krymskoje khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty . . .", *SPB.*, 1887.

[5] "Mnimyj tureckij sultan" (*Zapiski*, xviii), "K objasneniju znachenija slova kandaly" (*Zapiski*, xxi) and many others.

[6] See his article: "Les vers dits seldjouk et le christianisme turc" (*Actes du XI^{me} Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. iii).

He endured with great courage hunger and all kind of misfortunes during his latter years, and ever kept the dignity of a man. He died on the 22nd May, 1922, leaving a rich inheritance of books, manuscripts, and unedited articles.

N. K. Dmitrijev.

ŚŪRPĀRAKA

When writing, a short time ago, a note on *Śūrpāraka* (cf. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 111 sq.) I was, unfortunately, not aware of the short papers by Burgess, *IA*. xi, 236 sq., 294, and by Klatt, ibid., xi, 293 sq., dealing with the same subject. They in no way interfere with my conclusions but should be mentioned here.

Jarl Charpentier.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan. Tome II: "Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān par A. Godard, V. Godard, J. Hackin, avec des notes additionelles de M. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut. pp. [vi], 113, [2], plates xlviii, paper covers. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928.

Seeing that the direction of archæological research in Afghanistan has been granted to France for a period of thirty years, this large and handsome folio volume is likely to have many successors. Among those successors will be Volume I, which, as it will contain an account of the undertaking from its inception and the reports sent home by Professor Foucher, the leader of the mission, is a subject of pleasurable anticipation. Priority of publication has secured for Volume II the privilege of an *avertissement* by M. Senart, who was President of the Consultative Commission.

Apart from the pages (65–74) devoted to M. Hackin's exploration of Dokhtar-i-Nōshirwān and its Sassanian paintings, the volume is concerned entirely with the famous valley of the colossal Buddhas of Bāmiyān, and very largely with the Buddhas themselves and the recesses which they occupy. The site and the two colossi (the latter respectively 53 metres and 35 metres high) have naturally commanded the attention of travellers from the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang (A.D. 630) down to modern times. In the text (pp. 6–11) is given a rapid sketch of the notices of European writers from Hyde onwards, and an Appendix (pp. 75–99) contains a full bibliography with excerpts, including Professor Pelliot's new translations of the Chinese notices and his valuable comments.

The work is for the most part descriptive. After dealing with the Buddhas themselves, it describes and reproduces the remains of paintings visible in the niches. It gives particulars of other (seated) Buddhas in the same group, or adjacent groups, of excavations (here also there are paintings); after which comes a chapter on the grottos of Bāmiyān with plans and designs exhibiting the manner of roofing, which is here traced to a Persian origin. In regard to chronology the authors decide that the great Buddha, which was the earlier, cannot be anterior to the third century A.D., and that the earliest of the paintings go back to the fifth or sixth century, antedating all that we now have of this Buddhist art except what is found in grottos 9 and 10 at Ajaṇṭā and what was brought to light by Sir A. Stein at Mīrān in Chinese Turkestan.

The practical difficulties in obtaining photographs of frescoes on the wall-faces surrounding or over-arching the huge statues were realized by those who had the privilege of attending M. Hackin's lectures in London two years ago. We cannot therefore be sufficiently grateful for the reproductions, in many cases coloured, which are included among the fine photographs occupying the plates.

F. W. Thomas.

Outlines of Indian Constitutional History (British Period). By W. A. J. Archbold, M.A., LL.B. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ pp. 367. London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 1926.

Mr. Archbold has dealt very successfully with a difficult and complicated subject. The title of his book may perhaps suggest to the uninitiated that a steady movement in the direction of what is known as constitutional government, that is to say, government on democratic principles, has been in progress in India from the earliest days of the East India Company until now. This, of course, would be a mistake, for the democratic idea in India is a plant of very recent growth, and, as Mr. Archbold points out, the reforms introduced in 1909 contemplated no advance towards Parliamentary government, which neither Lord Minto nor Lord Morley seems to have desired.

The earlier part of the book deals with the gradual application of English law, or of regulations and laws in consonance with its spirit, to the Company's factories and territories, to Europeans in India, and to natives of the country subject to the Company's authority; and with the administration of native systems of law by or under the supervision of the Company's servants. We learn that at one time criminal cases were tried according to the Muhammadan law, but we are not told whether the cruel mutilation which it enjoins was permitted. It is with something akin to a shock that we read that the law as administered under the authority of Englishmen, both in the Bengal and in the Bombay Presidencies, was a respecter of persons, and that a Brāhman, no matter what his crime might have been, was immune from the extreme penalty.. Whatever we may think of the death penalty for forgery and of the merits of Nanda Kumār's case, the result of that trial at least convinced all that the accident of birth conferred immunity on no man.

The state of the country did not always admit of the observance of legal niceties, and it is amusing to find in the Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) an admission and defence of what, in fact, amounted to the kidnapping of defaulting debtors. It is also amusing to learn that the proceedings of the judge of the Admiralty Court, appointed in 1684, were to be in English, not in Latin.

Mr. Archbold has explained with admirable lucidity the complicated situation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the London Company, the English Company, and the General Society existing side by side, and also the intricate machinery for the administration of justice set up by the Regulating Act.

The chief practical value of the book lies in its excellent account of the latest development in constitution-making in India—the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He has treated this highly contentious subject with complete impartiality, and his book will be indispensable to all who wish to study this burning question. It is well written and well produced, and is disfigured by hardly any typographical errors. "Naib *Sabah*," on p. 47, should be Naib *Subah*, but here it is not improbable that the author has closely followed a faulty original.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA. By ADOLF WALEY. 9 × 6. pp. x, 556. London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927.

This book, as its name indicates, makes no pretensions to being a critical history of India, but may be described rather as the Indian chapter of the romance of history. The historical succession of sovereigns, Hindu, foreign, and Muslim, has been tolerably well preserved, and each has his entry and his exit and plays his part upon the stage, but it would be unreasonable to expect a single writer to base a book of this nature on original authorities. The consequence of this neglect is that many of the errors of the earlier English writers on Indian history have been reproduced. These writers were compelled to rely on a very restricted range of authorities and since the publication of their works the discovery of many authorities inaccessible to them has enabled later writers to correct erroneous statements and to question those based on insufficient evidence. For example, Delhi was not an imperial city before the advent of the Muslims, and it is incorrect to describe Prithvi Rāj as Emperor of Hindūstān. What rendered the Muslim conquest possible was the absence of any central authority in India. It is now generally admitted, even by Muslims, that the motive of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in attacking Hindu temples was not entirely zeal for Islam. The founder of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dakan was not the honest and grateful servant of a Brahman, nor had his title, Bahman Shah, any connexion with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus, and Tīmūr, much of whose early life was passed in warfare with Mug͟huls is not correctly described as "the Moghul". It is now generally known that the name of Bombay is derived from the goddess Mumbai, or Mumba Devī, who had a temple there, and that the inventor of the derivation *Bom Bahia* cannot have known Portuguese, or he would not have qualified a feminine substantive with a masculine adjective. It would be easy to multiply instances of the repetition of exploded errors such as these, but Mr. Waley is on surer ground when he reaches the reigns of S͟hāh Jahān and Aurangzīb, for which he has consulted the best modern authorities—the late Mr. Irvine's fine version of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, *A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, and Professor Jādūnāth Sarkār's *History of Aurangzīb*. It is unfortunate that he has not utilized to the same extent, for the reign of Akbar, the late Mr. Vincent Smith's excellent study of that ruler. The book, in spite of these defects, has a distinct value. It gives a generally correct outline of Indian history and its style is calculated to promote interest in a subject which is too little studied in this country. It is much to be regretted that the gifted author died early in the year in which his book was published, and thus never enjoyed the opportunity of seeing in its final form the work which lives after him.

W. H.

THE LADY OF THE LOTUS, RUP MATI, QUEEN OF MANDU. A Strange Tale of Faithfulness. By AHMAD-UL-UMRI, Turkoman. Translated, with introduction and notes, together with twenty-six poems attributed to Queen Rup Mati done into verse by L. M. CRUMP, C.I.E. 9¼ × 8. pp. xii, 96.

Mr. Crump presents, in a most attractive form, the well-known story of Rūp Matī, the faithful wife, or mistress, for her status is not yet determined, of Bāz Bahādur, the last independent Muhammadan king of Mālwa, that land of romance. The prose narrative of the loves of Bāz Bahādur and Rūp Matī is a translation of a contemporary narrative by Ahmad-ul-Umri, a Turkman officer in the service of Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain Mīrzā, one of the turbulent kinsmen of the great Akbar. Of the writer little is known, and we may well share Mr. Crump's regret that there is little or no chance of further acquaintance with this prose poet, this romantic historian, this Oriental feminist.

Mr. Crump's interest in the story of Rūp Matī and his assiduity in seeking records of the heroine were rewarded by the discovery of a copy, probably unique, of Ahmad-ul-Umri's work, transcribed by Mir Ja'far 'Ali in 1653, about fifty-four years after the writing of the original. So far as can be judged by one who has not seen the MS. used Mr. Crump has dealt faithfully with his material, and has preserved the flavour of Eastern literary form.

A defect in the book, and the only one which I have detected, is the too discriminate use of the *macron*, which is distributed with apparent impartiality among short and long syllables. Māhadeo (for Mahādeo), Āhmad, Māhmud, Akbār, Jā'afar, Anagāh, Māhbub, Mahāl, Kā'aba, Atgāh, Sādi, and Sāyyid are all instances of its misplacement. The use of " Altamsh " for " Īltutmish " is perhaps pardonable, as the correct version of the personal name of the great Slave King is not generally known; but it is time that the name of our predecessors in empire in India was standardized. In Hindī and Indian Persian the form Marhatta is, for some reason, preferred. In the days of unscientific transliteration we used the form Mahratta, but there can be no excuse for writing Māhrātta on one page and Mahārātta on another. Marāthā is the correct spelling. It is now generally recognized that Blochmann's description of the brutal Adham Khan as " evidently a royal bastard " rested on no evidence, and that the haphazard statement should not be taken as a fact. Bāz Bahādur's real name was not Bāzid, but Bāyazid. The name of Tafā'ul Khān, the regent of Berar, is commonly corrupted, in Indian histories written in Persian, into "Tufāl", but "Tufel" is, so far as I know, not to be found.

Mr. Crump's discussion of the status of his heroine is interesting, but in spite of his obvious anxiety to assign to her the dignity of a wife he is compelled to leave the question open. Most authorities refer to her as a courtesan, songstress, or mistress, and even the evidence of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad quoted by Mr. Crump in support of his own view, is inconclusive. The words used by him are *ḥaram-i-dūstdār*, and *ḥaram* does not necessarily mean "wife". It might equally well describe the king's *maitresse en titre*, which Rūp Matī certainly was.

Mr. Crump's melodious verses, which are not his first essay in poetry, preserve the spirit and genius of Eastern love-lyrics, and more of them would be welcome. Much work remains for so gifted a versifier in familiarizing the West with the erotic poetry of the East, which prose renderings can never do. It is to be hoped that Mr. Crump will turn his attention to this matter.

The form of the book, the printing, the binding, and, above all, the style in which the charming illustrations are reproduced are fully worthy of the Oxford University Press under the direction of Mr. Humphrey Milford.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE EPIC OF MOUNT EVEREST. By Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 8¼ × 6, 319 pp. London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1926.

This is a condensed description of the three Mount Everest Expeditions of 1921, 1922, and 1924, which, as explained, is intended to bring the heroic story within the range of a much larger class of readers than the limited number to which the expensive and elaborate records of the expeditions were accessible.

The service of preparing this inspiring record could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Sir Francis

Younghusband, the first Chairman of the Mount Everest Committee, whose own experience and achievements, of which one learns nothing from this book, and complete understanding of the mountaineer's spirit, as well as his official connexion with the three expeditions, marked him as the fittest person for the task

The book leaves little to be desired as a defence of the sacrifices made in the attempt of spirit to establish its supremacy over matter and as a record of the devotion and heroism of all engaged in that attempt, and there are few who will not be thrilled by the recital of the sufferings and the achievements of those who attempted to overcome the world's highest mountain, and perhaps succeeded in the attempt.

To the general reader, unable to share, or perhaps even to comprehend, the call of the mountains, the book will disclose many subjects of interest. The accounts of the fauna and flora of Tibet and especially the chapter on high altitude life (xiv) are most interesting. Another matter of the greatest interest to the physiologist as well as to the mountaineer is the question of the use of oxygen. Before the experience of those who all but succeeded in standing on the summit of Everest had demonstrated the degree of man's adaptability to his surroundings the general view regarding oxygen may be represented by the statement that prudence demanded its use. It would doubtless be a greater triumph to climb Everest without oxygen than with it, but it was doubted whether man could exist, far less undergo physical exertion at altitudes much above 20,000 feet, and it was believed that acclimatization above this height was impossible, and that an attempt to remain at such an altitude would weaken the climber rather than enable him to adapt himself to conditions. The author's view that this belief has been proved to be erroneous will probably commend itself to all who study his record, and his conclusion that oxygen has been the bane of Everest expeditions will be accepted ; with the reservation that oxygen should be supplied, as is brandy, as a medicine, to be used when required. The question is well summarized by Sir Francis.

" Oxygenists might legitimately claim that if the expedition had concentrated upon oxygen—and upon oxygen alone—the summit might have been reached. It probably would have. But if it had we should have missed discovering the precious knowledge that men acclimatize themselves to the higher altitudes. We should have remained ignorant of the extent to which man, by exercising his capacities, can enlarge them. And we might have become increasingly dependent upon external stimulants instead of upon our native energies for climbing high mountains. A branch of science might have won a success, but man would have lost a chance of knowing himself."

The lesson learnt from these expeditions is, as the author says, that man's capacities are still growing, and that if he exercises them they expand. His conclusions are amply justified by the record of what was accomplished by the third Expedition. " These two facts—that porters can carry a tent to near the 27,000 line, and that climbers can sleep there—are two of the most important results of this third Expedition."

Of the tragedy which closed the third Expedition—the deaths of Mallory and Irvine, who " in the arms of Everest lie for ever—lie 10,000 feet above where any man has lain in death before " Sir Francis writes in moving terms, but his record closes on a triumphant note. Mallory and Irvine may or may not have reached the summit, but what they, and others, accomplished has proved that the summit can be reached, and who can doubt that Everest will be defeated.

The author is specially happy in his description of what is beautiful and what is awful in nature, and above all in nature among the great mountains. His description of the Rongbuk Glacier may be singled out as a specimen of his feeling for beauty and of his power of expressing it.

Of minor blemishes the book contains singularly few. It may be objected that the simile " his will managed to reduce his stomach to the peace establishment ", suggesting, as it does to a soldier, the idea of weakening, does not very happily describe the restoration of a disordered stomach to a normally healthy condition. " Palette " is preferable to " pallet " in describing an artist's equipment ; and " where " for " were " on p. 113 is probably a printer's error.

The book is a worthy record of achievements of which our race may well be proud.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

GEORGE LEIGH MALLORY. A Memoir. By DAVID PYE. 8¼ × 6, pp. 183. Oxford University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1927.

This charming memoir of a charming person is valuable to those who had not the privilege of knowing its subject chiefly as an analysis of the spirit of the mountaineer. Mr. Pye, aided by Mallory's writings, has given us a portrait of his friend which will arouse in all who study it a feeling of regret that they did not share the author's privilege. A character attractive partly by reason of its contradictions and full of youthful enthusiasm, youthful intolerance, and displaying occasionally youthful affectation. is firmly drawn in firm lines and Mallory himself is allowed to fill in the outline. Of his affectation we have specimens in his petulant outburst against the Public School system—the common but unreasonable complaint that our schools fail to turn ordinary boys into extraordinary men ; a complaint pardonable enough in one, who though himself a public schoolboy and master at a public school, was no ordinary boy and no ordinary man. Yet another petulant outburst : " How hateful is success ! " What does this mean ? That Mallory despised all success ? No, that Mallory disliked Scottish sailors and engineers. But this petulance in no way diminishes the charm of his character.

Mr. Pye, evidently an intimate friend of Mallory, seldom offends by lack of restraint, but there is one expression that jars—" A conjunction of two unique creatures." In a sense everybody is unique in that there is nobody in the world exactly like him in all respects ; but this phrase is either hyperbole, or, what is worse, a misuse of the word *unique*. In the United States such vulgarisms as " somewhat unique " and " very unique " are common, but it behoves us carefully to guard the word, for it is the only one left to us that expresses its meaning. " Singular " has gone, and now means no more than " unusual ", and unless we are careful " unique " may follow it.

To those who had not the privilege of knowing Mallory, the most interesting part of the book will be those passages which describe the appeal which mountains made to his nature. " Nowhere as among the high snow and ice is the utter insignificance of man's bodily presence so overwhelming, nowhere as among these mighty masses do his desires and aspirations seem, by comparison, so triumphant."

This attitude explains the appeal which Everest made to him. The last two chapters of the book deal with that adventure and are enriched with Mallory's own graphic descriptions of his experiences. Of the final tragedy the author writes feelingly, but with complete understanding. " When we are tempted to cry out upon the loss of two such lives, it is well for us to try to see Everest as Mallory saw it. To him the attempt was not just an adventure, still less was it an opportunity for record-breaking. The climbing of the mountain was an inspiration because it signified the transcendence of mind over matter." If Mallory could return he would be the last to complain that his life was thrown away, or uselessly sacrificed.

The printing, format, and illustration of the book are all of the nature and quality which we associate with the name of Mr. Humphrey Milford.

KINGSHIP. By A. M. HOCART. 9 × 6, pp. x, 250. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1927.

The author of this book begins his prologue by describing two parties of historians, " on the one hand those who deny that the same thing is ever invented twice, and therefore assert that if two customs in parts of the world ever so remote from one another show some resemblance, they must come from the same source " ; and, on the other, " the die-hards, mostly men of immaculate scholarship, who automatically turn down every attempt at tracing common origins with the equally confident assertion that similar ideas occur to men independently in different parts of the world." Mr. Hocart is a staunch adherent of the former party and gives to its principles an application so wide that the resemblances which he professes to find are not always apparent even to the careful student of his book.

His theme is the system of ideas expressed by the term " Divine Kingship ", an expression so vague as to include theories of kingship which are not only dissimilar but conflicting, but between which Mr. Hocart professes to trace resemblance. There is, for instance, the theory that a king is in some sense a god, as well as the theory that " there's a divinity doth hedge a king ", that a king is in a peculiar degree under divine protection. Not only does Mr. Hocart appear to be unable to distinguish the contradiction between these two theories ; he treats them as though they were identical. Even the fact that subjects have been known to pray for their kings is cited as evidence of the theory of the divinity of kings. It is not easy to understand how one who needs his subjects' prayers can be regarded as divine ; nor does the suggestion that the second verse of *God Save the King* is a relic of the days when kings were regarded as gods carry conviction with it.

Mr. Hocart, in deciding to try the hypothesis of common origin deprecates the reluctance of some scholars and historians of high repute to go so far ; attributing it partly to a fear of losing caste by being confounded with " those wild men who seized upon the most superficial resemblances in every part of the world to prove that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel had been there ". Let me hasten to disclaim any intention of confounding Mr. Hocart with the " wild men ". He has laboriously collected a mass of evidence, but he has manufactured none ; and he understands what evidence is, which is more than can be said of the " wild men ". But like all who set out to prove a theory he is prone to find evidence in facts the relevance of which is not easily perceptible to the open mind. The notions that a king is a god and that a king is the special object of divine protection, though cognate, are yet distinct, and it does not follow that the second is derived from the first. In discussing the King's Evil he is on firmer ground, but even here it is unsafe to assume the identity of the " divine kingship " theory with the view that the king is enabled by divine assistance to work a miracle. The most that can be said is that divine influence temporarily pervades the king's personality.

The chapter on *Ambrosia,* containing a parallel between the Eucharist and *ambrosia*, *kava*, and *soma* will offend some, but the Christian mysteries cannot be exempted from inquiries into the history of religion. The analogy may be more rationally condemned for its imperfection. The question of *ambrosia* is obscure, but there can be little doubt that the virtues of *kava* and *soma* lay originally in their intoxicating properties.

The same objection applies to the analysis of coronation ceremonies. It is inevitable that analogies should be traceable between initiation ceremonies among different peoples, but the suggestion that the coronation ceremonies of Christian monarchs have their origin in the initiation ceremonies of primitive peoples who believe that these symbolize the death of him who is called to be the king and his rebirth as a god is strained.

It may be doubted, too, whether the Oriental is capable of abstracting a man from his office. At the *darbar* held at

Delhi to commemorate King Edward's accession and coronation much wonder was expressed at the precedence of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, over the King's brother. This attitude surely displayed an inability to identify the man with his office.

The pedigree on p. 159 is not easily comprehensible. The ceremonies of Coronation, Ordination, and Initiation are exhibited as being derived from the ceremony of Installation, but the tree shows Coronation and Ordination as being more closely linked together than is either with Initiation; yet all three are shown as the offspring of Installation, and are therefore sister ceremonies. The pedigree form is evidently intended to make the relationship clear. All that it does is to confound it.

The attribution of the anthropomorphism of the Hindus to Greek influence will commend itself to few students. It should not be difficult to show that anthropomorphism is older than any recorded intercourse between Greece and India. The anthropomorphism of the Greeks is indeed gross and absurd, but its grossness and absurdity do not approach those of Hindu mythology, between which and that of the Greeks the difference is one of kind rather than of degree.

Mr. Hocart's argument that ceremonies in the course of time so lose their signification, and, consequently, essential details, as to become unrecognizable is certainly one explanation of the discrepancies which he either brushes aside as unimportant or attempts to reconcile, but most will seek the simpler explanation that the various ceremonies differ essentially.

These remarks are not intended to suggest that Mr. Hocart has not written an interesting book containing valuable material, for he has. He defines his book as an attempt at applying to customs and beliefs the methods that have been so successful in the study of language. As a first attempt it is, as he admits, crude; but as a first attempt it is also a very creditable performance, and it is to be hoped that the author will develop his theories more fully at a later date.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL H.H. SIR PRATAP SINGH. By R. B. VAN WART, O.B.E., M.A. 9 × 5½, pp. xii, 237. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1926.

Mr. van Wart has wisely allowed the late Maharaja to tell his story himself, as far as possible, using for that purpose the autobiography written by him in his life, but he has found it necessary to supplement this haphazard record by such information as could be gleaned from those who had been fortunate enough to be brought into intimate personal relations with the Maharaja. The result of his labours is an illuminating and eminently readable biography of the charming personality who was during the quarter of a century preceding his death one of the most prominent figures in India.

The prince, or as he would have chosen to be styled, the soldier, whose portrait Mr. van Wart has given us, will be remembered by all his numerous friends and by all who had the honour of his acquaintance as a great gentleman, a fine sportsman, and a charming companion; a worthy representative of the race of warriors from which he was proud to be sprung. Sir Pratap Singh's pride of race was not of that kind which regards high birth as the supreme merit of him who possesses it. His was that nobler form of pride which held it incumbent on the nobly born to prove himself worthy of his birth, and, in doing so, to shed fresh lustre on it. His ideal was service, and the three Sovereigns whom it was his pride to serve had no more loyal servant, nor had those who, like him, served the King, any more devoted friend than the "old Rajput soldier", as he styled himself in a memorable message. "Ever looking to your Majesty as my second God, I, as your Majesty's A.D.C., consider it my sacred duty to serve your Majesty personally at this time." This one sentence is a key to the Maharaja's attitude, throughout his life, to his sovereign, just as his dignified rebuke "Sahib, he was your Prince," to an Englishman who had spoken slightingly of the late Duke of Clarence, was an indication of the old soldier's veneration for his sovereign's house.

The book, with its fund of anecdote of Sir Pratap, and its record of the quaint sayings in his own inimitable English, will recall to many the old warrior's cheery voice, straightforward outlook on life, and intolerance of sophistry, hypocrisy, sedition, and political quackery. " Your stomach and mine. Look at it ! " to an obese politician who tried to scrape acquaintance with him—" Very good thing, you liking striking, I liking shooting "—his remark to a number of strikers at the Jodhpur railway workshops—are instances of his caustic wit and of his attitude to disaffection.

His veneration for members of the Royal Family, of which his refusal to sit on the same level as the Prince of Wales was an instance, never withheld him from fearless admonition when he believed it to be called for. " You no riding like that, you riding like this. You riding like that you spoiling my mare," was his advice, well meant and well received, to the late Duke of Clarence. " You going pig-sticking to-morrow, now you going to bed," was his equally blunt announcement to the present Prince of Wales ; but perhaps the most delightful instance of his outspokenness was his advice to his present Majesty : " If you real King you would cut tongue off —— instead of letting him talk so much."

It is not fair thus to skim the cream off Mr. van Wart's book, and I must not further yield to temptation, but one instance of the late Maharaja's nobility of character must be mentioned—his helping to bear the coffin of Lieut. James Dalmahoy Cadell. What this meant will be understood only by those who have had experience of the strength of caste prejudice in India. The moving story is admirably told in the fine poem of Sir Henry Newbolt, which the author has been permitted to quote at length.

To the friends of the late Sir Pratap Singh this book will be a welcome memento of an exceptionally fine character. To others, and especially to politicians, it is commended as

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t of a representative Indian, a member of one of the her peoples, and a far truer representative than any ested and " politically-minded " Indians with axes

WOLSELEY HAIG.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, POET AND DRAMATIST. By EDWARD THOMPSON. 9 × 6, pp. xii, 327. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. London, etc., 1926.

This book is a scholarly study of the work and literary life of the greatest of living Indian poets and dramatists, a character well worthy of study. Precisely how great Rabindranath is and to what extent he may, as a poet and dramatist, be described as Indian are controversial questions which it ill becomes one who is ignorant of Bengali to attempt to decide.

Mr. Thompson prefaces his account of the poet by an account of the great Bengali reformer Rammohan Ray and of the religious community, the Brāhmo Samaj, which he founded and to which Rabindranath Tagore belongs. In this he has done well, for it is impossible to understand the poet unless we understand his attitude to orthodox Hinduism, and his adhesion to the enlightened community to which he belongs enables us to understand that attitude.

Space, no less than lack of the necessary equipment, precludes me from attempting to review Rabindranath's enormous contributions to literature. In Mr. Thompson he has found an appreciative but not undiscriminating critic, who, though he concludes " by claiming confidently that his (Rabindranath's) output is one of fine and often great poetry ", adding that " it contains an enormous body of work of almost, if not quite, the highest beauty and of many kinds ", is by no means blind to the poet's faults, which are neither few nor venial. His prolixity, his constant repetition of ideas as well as of words, which is compared in its maddening effect to the note of the coppersmith or the brain-fever bird, the lapses from good taste, even from decency, in his erotic poems, someoldier's fail to rise above the level of literary exercises, his to plunge into the full sea of composition with , and its forethought and with imperfect acquaintance with hEnglish, of his readiness to "make himself a motley to thraight- his monotony, his mental laziness, except when aroustry . deep feeling, all receive their meed of condemnation, which, however just, will not commend itself to those who scorn the suggestion that their hero is inferior to Milton and assert that he has written greater poetry, and more of it, than Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, or the Greeks. To such ignorant and indiscriminate adulation Mr. Thompson's calmer judgment is an antidote. It may be conceded at once that Rabindranath is a great poet, but to give him a place among the world's greatest is absurd.

Different views of the extent of the debt which he owes to the West are current. One scholarly critic of his own country can see in him no more than a Western poet who is able to express himself in Bengali, albeit in a style which appears happier and more natural when rendered into English. In short "Bengal has not given Rabindranath to Europe—rather Europe has given him to the Bengalis". His Bengali admirers would not admit this for a moment. Mr. Thompson steers a middle course. Western learning and Western letters have enlightened the poet's mind, and widened his outlook on life, but they have not denationalized his literary style or his literary work.

In a foreigner with so marvellous a command of English as Rabindranath it is strange to find now and then translations so grotesque as to shock. In the description of the attack on a Salvation Army preacher by Bengali youths—a scathing satire on Bengali heroism—the preacher has his head broken. His plight is thus described in English: "They beat the preacher on the head. His head bursts and blood runs." No such cerebral explosion as is suggested in the English occurred, for the preacher immediately afterwards addresses his

"Flows," too, should have been substituted for A word of which the poet seems to be fond is which occurs in two translated passages in the mn, not facetious. The word is hardly dignified, expression "douse my lamp" used of Love, as Death, gests Dirk Hatteraick's "Douse the glim". "Lovelihead" is not easy to justify and the meaning of "Vasuki . . . swingeing his folds" is not clear. "Death has left his card of invitation behind my ear!"

Of the poet's politics this is not the place to speak, but it may be said without indiscretion that they are unpractical. He has unequivocally shown his dissatisfaction with the alien rulers of his country, and he has antagonized their bitterest opponents by his satire, all the more biting for its truth.

Mr. Thompson has given us an exceedingly interesting study of the growth, development, and evolution of a great poet, great in spite of many imperfections, and though his work will not please all it will be welcome to the discriminating. His book is disfigured by very few blemishes, of which his reference to the Governor-General who abolished *sati* as "Lord Bentinck" is one. There appears to be no excuse for the use of the abominable word "Britisher" on page 247; and the expression "had operating not taken place" on page 231 is worse than inelegant.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. ÜBER DAS WESEN DER ALTINDISCHEN RECHTSSCHRIFTEN UND IHR VERHÄLTNIS ZU EINANDER UND ZU KAUṬILYA. Von JOHANN JAKOB MEYER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, ix + 440 pp. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1927.

Herr Meyer's book suffers sorely from *Unübersichtlichkeit*; it consists of a single chapter occupying 356 pages (with a *Nachwort* 58 pages long) divided into paragraphs of corresponding bulk (one of them covers $18\frac{1}{2}$ pages), without any finger-post in the shape of a table of contents to soldier's student through its paths. Nor are its inde exhaustive. But it will repay the labour of st p, and its presents in a lively style the fruits of a wide and de English, applied in skilful research, and these fruits are of ight-interest.

The author's aim has been (1) to determine by a careful comparison of their contents the mutual relations and relative dates of the chief Sanskrit *dharma-sūtras* and *dharma-śāstras* and the Kāuṭilīya, and (2) to make clear the real nature of the *dharma*-literature and its preachers, the Brahmans. His general conclusions are as follows. As to the first point, Bāudhāyana and Āpastamba are pre-buddhist; Vasiṣṭha belongs to about the fourth century B.C.; Nārada is really older than our Manu (the mention of *dīnāras*, with much else in his text, is due to interpolation); Manu in the present form was written between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. (perhaps nearer to the former date) by a compiler who worked over an earlier Manu composed in mixed prose and verse, and who, aiming mainly at religious edification, omitted and abridged much of the earlier Manu, added much *ab extra*, including some matter from Artha-śāstras, and patched together many contradictory scraps, producing a text very deficient in legal clarity; Yājñavalkya is a compiler, who has drawn especially on Nārada and Kāuṭilya, and also on Manu; Viṣṇu is a late pseudo-Sūtra, drawing upon Manu and Yājñavalkya *inter alios*; Gautama comes last of all, and has used all the others. Kāuṭilya did not use Manu and the later writers on *dharma*; he may have drawn upon Bāudhāyana, or both may have used the same sources; the most valuable surviving Smṛti is to be found in his Books iii and iv, which are carefully compiled from both brahmanic and secular works. As to the second point, Herr Meyer holds that the Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras do not deserve the title of law-books. Their original purpose was to furnish the Brahmans with manuals of *magic*, to to them, for originally they had no money to buy them nor power to carry them off by force. Agni, peculiarly the Brahman's god, was in origin the vagabond's camp-fire. It was inherited instinct that led them to live outside the town, and to eschew agriculture, cattle-breeding, trade, manual labour, even the simplest kinds of manufacture ; and it was the same old instinct that moved them to establish and realise the ideal with which the perfect Brahman life is consummated, the retirement from the world into the hermitage and then into the final *sannyāsa* that leads to death.

These are remarkable conclusions, but on the whole they seem to me to be substantiated by the evidence. I say " on the whole ", for on details there may be some differences of opinion, especially in regard to the *Nachwort*, and Herr Meyer's imagination is sometimes exuberant. But in his general conclusions I incline to agree with him. The old doctrine that the Sūtras are all earlier than the Śāstras is quite untenable,[1] as he shows, and his deductions as to their relative dates, their fundamental character, and the primitive nature of the Brahmans are in the main sound. On the last point, indeed he might have strengthened his case by quoting Bṛ.-ār. Up. VI, iv, 6 ff., and Ch. Up. IV, i and iv. Certainly he has given us a remarkable and thought-provoking book.

2. UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA : JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS. Vols. xv, xvi. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vi + 203 + 23 + 63 + 64 + i + 162 + 80 + 62 + 62 + 82 pp. Calcutta : University Press, 1927.

The contributions contained in these volumes vary greatly in quality and quantity ; but, with the exception of Mr. Mookerji's paper on " The Gipsies and the Spread of Indian Culture ", they are generally good, in some cases remarkably so. Among the more important papers we may single out for special mention those of Professor C. Formichi on " The

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[1] A further example is the case of the *Vāikhānasa*, which Dr. Caland would assign to the fourth century A.D.

Upanishads as the landmark in the history of Indian thought", of Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra on the cult of the Sun-god in medieval Eastern Bengal, of Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya on "The Identification of the Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī and some connected problems", of Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri on vocalic composition (in Bengali), of Mr. Manindramohan Bose on the post-Caitanya Sahajiyā cult and on the Padas of Caṇḍīdāsa, of Mr. Basantakumar Chatterjee on Vidyāpati's poems, of Mr. P. C. Sengupta on the Āryabhaṭīya (a translation), of Mr. S. C. Chatterji on the Nyāya doctrine of Pramāṇa, and of Mr. Girindra Mohan Sarkar on the Sēna period of Bengal history. The last of these papers shows real ability in historical research, and it is deeply to be regretted that death has cut short the author's promising career. The longest and perhaps most striking monograph is that of Mr. Bose on the Sahajiyā cult, which throws much light on a hitherto obscure religious movement that has wielded an enormous influence on the soul of Bengal; a copious bibliography is appended to it, which makes it still more valuable.

3. A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS. By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., etc. Third edition. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, xx + 264 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Accurate in scholarship and lucid in presentation, Professor Macdonell's grammar has from the first won for itself wide and well-deserved popularity. This impression reproduces the second edition with a few corrections of slight errors, but with no essential changes, for changes are unnecessary in a work of such approved excellence.

4. [BHĀRATĪYA-CARITÂMBUDHI.] A Dictionary of Indian Classical Characters pertaining to mythology, philosophy, literature, antiquity, arts, manners, customs, etc. of the Hindus by CHATURVEDI DWARKA PRASAD SHARMA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, xl + 682 pp., 1 plate. Lucknow: Newul Kishore Press, 1919.

This work, which bears the second title *Hindī-caritâmbudhi*, is a Hindi dictionary of notable persons, things, and places, and is rather more comprehensive than its title-page suggests, for it contains also brief notices of many medieval and modern persons of mark in history, literature, etc., sects, countries, towns, and the like, while one appendix contains notices of Muslim and British historical characters (including Śivājī !), and another gives a number of geographical names found in the Mahābhārata with explanations in Hindi and English. Many of the notices are very jejune, and there are some serious deficiencies; for example, under the caption *Māgha* there is no mention of the identification of Varmalāta with the historical king of that name, and he is wrongly called Varmala. However, the work contains a good deal of information, though of a rather sketchy kind, on the life and works of many medieval and modern personages which will be useful, and as a book of reference for the general public it should also be acceptable.

5. THE BAGH CAVES IN THE GWALIOR STATE. Published by the India Society in co-operation with the Department of Archæology, Gwalior, for his late Highness Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Scindia Alijah Bahadur, etc. 13¼ × 10¼. viii + 78 pp., 29 plates (9 col.). London, Banbury printed: India Society, 1927.

To the India Society, to the Department of Archaeology of Gwalior, and to the late Maharaja of that State art-lovers are under a deep debt of gratitude. This fine volume, beautifully printed and beautifully reproducing the gracious loveliness of the art of Bagh, is a gift of richest quality, well worthy of the enlightened bounty of the Prince to whom it is in large measure owing. It contains 20 plates of drawings and plans and 9 coloured reproductions of the frescoes from careful eye-copies by native artists—frescoes which, as Sir John Marshall justly says, " will bear comparison with the best that Europe could produce down to the time of

Michael Angelo"—together with a one-page preface by Mr. L. Binyon, 16 pages by Sir John Marshall describing the caves, some miscellaneous notes by Mr. M. B. Garde, valuable studies of the sculptures and paintings by Dr. J. P. Vogel, a short note on the frescoes by Mr. Havell, and two articles by Dr. J. H. Cousins, the first an aesthetic appreciation and the second dealing with the topography. In short, it is, despite some minor shortcomings, well worthy of its beautiful theme, an art *ch'è principio e cagion di tutta gioia.*

6. Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1334 f./1924–5 a.d. 13¼ × 10¼, xi + 44 pp., 9 plates (2 col.). Hyderabad, Calcutta printed: Baptist Mission Press, 1927.

In this Report Mr. Yazdani chronicles an active and useful year's work by the Department under his capable guidance. Most interesting is the announcement of the progress made for the preservation of the Ajanta Caves with their frescoes, and the steps that are being taken to reproduce them in colour, of which we are given most attractive foretastes in the plates of the present volume. Good work has likewise been accomplished in the conservation of Ellora and some noteworthy Muslim tombs, while several valuable acquisitions of coins have also been made. From the archæological point of view all is well with Hyderabad.

7. Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East and West. By A. W. Lawrence. 10½ × 8, xvii + 157 pp., 112 plates. London: Jonathan Cape, 1927.

Mr. Lawrence's work, fascinating as a tale of art-history and amply illustrated by excellent plates, is one over which the reviewer would willingly linger, but he must resist the temptation and restrict his attention to the part of it with which this *Journal* is directly concerned, to wit, chapters 7 ("The Hellenistic East") and 8 ("The Hellenistic Tradition in India and the Far East"). Chapter 7 gives us a sketch of the influence of Greek art in Egypt and neighbouring African states, Phœnicia, the Seleucid and Parthian empires, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia; its effect in these regions, however, was not vitalising, and it produced few works of marked power (the intensely live heads of Arsinoe III and Euthydemus are strictly Pergamene). But on India its influence was deeper, and culminated in the Gandharan school, which passed from India through Central Asia to China and Japan—a development which Mr. Lawrence sketches in outlines, necessarily very brief, but on the whole just, though we suspect he is mistaken in seeing a direct Greek touch in Aśōka's Sarnath capital, and he makes a little slip in speaking of "Kuvera, King of the Devils" (p. 80). Mr. Lawrence has rendered a valuable service to the study of oriental art by viewing it thus from the wider standpoint of Hellenistic art; we hope that some day he will study it in closer detail.

INDISCHE STROMUNGEN IN DER ISLAMISCHEN MYSTIK. I: ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK. II: LEXICON WICHTIGSTER TERMINI DER ISLAMISCHEN MYSTIK. By DR. M. HORTEN. Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 13 Heft. 32 + 141 pages. Heidelberg, 1927–8.

The view that Indian religious philosophy exerted a considerable influence upon the development of Islamic mysticism has been advocated by several distinguished scholars, including such a cautious and unprejudiced investigator as Goldziher, who, however, recognized that, in any case, the Indian influences are of secondary importance compared with the Hellenistic. Few at present would venture even so far as this. Within the last fifteen years the whole problem of the origin and evolution of Ṣúfism, down to the death of Ḥalláj in A.D. 922, has received a new orientation from the brilliant series of monographs in which Massignon embodied the results of an extraordinarily wide and penetrating study of the materials (unpublished MSS. for the most part) that are still extant. From his subtle analysis it appears that the *Qur'án* was the central source whence the early Muḥammedan mystics derived their doctrine ; and the doctrine itself, as developed in the third century after the Hijra, he holds to be essentially Islamic. Dr. Horten rejects this view, root and branch, while others, who accept it in the main, may well doubt whether it makes sufficient allowance for the infiltration of foreign elements and more particularly for the influence of the Hellenistic background on which Ṣúfism arose. This question has not been thoroughly explored. Future research may, I believe, find definite points of contact, showing that Christianity, Gnosticism, and Neo-platonism helped, perhaps in a more vital way than is yet surmised, to shape the mystical movement in the western provinces of the Muslim empire. As regards India, the evidence for personal or literary communication and interchange of ideas with Muslims during this period is so scanty that anyone who seeks to establish a connexion between Buddhism and Brahmanism on the one hand and the speculative mysticism of early Islam on the other should at least refrain from stating his conclusions as positive and undeniable facts. Dr. Horten's latest book is extremely controversial. He claims to have proved " die Identität der liberalen islamischen Mystik mit den Thesen ' des höheren Vedānta ' ", and this assertion is repeated again and again with an emphasis which adds no strength to the argument.

Part I deals with Ḥalláj, Abú Yazíd al-Bisṭámí, and Junayd. Ḥalláj, who declared that the essence of God is love and said, " we are two spirits dwelling in one body," is described as " ein brahmanischer Denker reinsten Wassers ". The famous formula " *Ana 'l-Ḥaqq* " is equivalent to *Brahmásmi*. When Ḥalláj says, addressing God, يا جملة الكُلّ (cf. يا كُلّ كُلّي in Hujwírí, *Kashf*, ed. Schukovski,

p. 332 = p. 259 in my translation), this, according to Dr. Horten, can only mean pantheism. Hujwírí, however, refers the expression of Ḥalláj to the state of *jam*ʿ (the unitive state), which he compares with that of Majnún, who "concentrated his thoughts on Laylá, so that he saw only her in the whole world, and in his eyes all created things assumed the form of Laylá" (ibid., p. 331 = p. 258). Bisṭámí approaches more closely to the Indian type. As I pointed out (*Mystics of Islam*, p. 17), the statement (*Luma*ʿ, p. 177) that he learned the mystical doctrine of *tawḥíd* from Abú ʿAlí al-Sindí suggests a possibility that the development of this doctrine in Islam was influenced to some extent by ideas derived from India; and the remarkable but very obscure sayings of Bisṭámí cited in *Luma*ʿ, pp. 382–8, do not appear to me to be inconsistent with that supposition. Dr. Horten expounds them *more suo*, giving a detailed account of Bisṭámí's inner life, founded on the phrase "ten years", which occurs twice in the text, but, of course, is not meant to be taken literally. He distinguishes three periods: in the first a Buddhistic tendency reveals itself, only to be superseded by the positivism of the second decade and culminate in the full-blown Brahmanism of the third period. A fitting comment on this is supplied by Bisṭámí himself in a passage (Qushayrí, p. 57, under *mujáhadat*) where he divides the stages of his religious experience, before he attained to union with God, into four periods of twelve, five, one, and five years respectively, while in another place (*Kashf al-Maḥjúb*, transl. p. 331) he is reported to have said that he first enjoyed permanent contemplation of God when he was seventy years old. Theories constructed from such data are of little use.

In Part II, entitled "A Lexicon of the most important terms in Islamic mysticism", the author sets forth the principles and illustrates the methods by which his conclusions have been reached. Disgusted with the uncritical subjectivity of "unsere jüngste Orientalistik", he insists on the need for an "objective system" to settle all questions of interpretation. "But where," the reader may ask, "is such a thing to be found? Is it already born and waiting, like the Hidden Imám, till the hour appointed for its appearance?" Its birth took place about two centuries ago—in 1745, to speak precisely—in India, and its hour has struck (see p. viii); but a few words should be said concerning the circumstances which have led to its manifestation. For once in a way Dr. Horten agrees with Massignon that in order to understand the doctrine of any particular mystic we must know the exact meanings attached by him to the terms that he uses in his writings; therefore, as different writers use the same terms in different senses, a critical and historical study of the terminology is necessary in each case. Massignon has applied this method to Ḥalláj and his predecessors with fruitful results. Dr. Horten condemns him, however, because he does not postulate an "objective system", a rigid, uniform, all-embracing framework built on the scholastic model, a final court of appeal by which the true character of every disputed text shall be decided. We then learn that the "system" is comprised in the well-known *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, compiled (1745) by al-Tahánawí and published (1862) in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. This encyclopædia suits Dr. Horten admirably, for it contains a large number of definitions drawn from the monistic school of Ibnu 'l-'Arabí (1165–1240). It is superior to the oracle of Delphi: on being interrogated, it never fails to give a response both clear and satisfactory. Dr. Horten takes some text of Junayd or Ḥalláj, interprets it by means of admittedly monistic definitions, and thinks he has demonstrated that Junayd and Ḥalláj were monists. So he has, but his mode of proof amounts to begging the question at issue. The ninth century is not the eighteenth or even the twelfth. It does not follow, because the symbols of mystical expression remain unchanged, that the ideas which they connote are always the same. *Eppur si muove.* There may be good evidence for the existence of monism in ninth and tenth century texts, but that evidence must be sought in the texts themselves and in their cultural environment. On the Indian side the prospect is unhopeful, and one can only say that something might result from an investigation conducted on the right lines by a scholar equally familiar with Arabic and Sanskrit. But I am afraid the present work and much else will be out of date before he appears.

While the author's discussion of the terminology shows acuteness, it lacks the delicacy of touch required for handling what Goethe has called the scholastic of the heart and dialectic of the feelings. Dr. Horten is at his best when he is analysing purely intellectual notions, though here also the value of his book is restricted by prepossessions and impaired by intemperate criticism. Only a small minority of his very numerous corrections have any basis except a misplaced confidence in the " system ". It would seem, too, to be a law of human nature that those who talk loudly and often about philological inexactitude in the works of others leave many examples of it in their own.

R. A. Nicholson.

PERSIAN LITERATURE, A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY. Section I: QUR'ĀNIC LITERATURE. By C. A. STOREY. xxiii + 58 pages. London: Luzac, 1927.

The publication of this unpretentious book, which is dedicated to Professor A. A. Bevan, is an event of importance as marking the completion of the first stage in a long and arduous bibliographical journey undertaken with the object of providing students of Persian literature with a counterpart to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Although such a work has long been desired, only recently, as Mr. Storey points out, have the sources on which it must depend become full enough to make a comprehensive survey possible. Of the 140 entries in the List of Authorities and Abbreviations (pp. ix–xxiii) more than a third bear dates subsequent to the year 1900; and these include, in addition to Mr. E. Edwards's *Catalogue of Persian printed books in the British Museum*, catalogues of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and several large Indian collections (Bankípúr, Búhár, Calcutta, Rámpúr). As the work proceeds, its materials will no doubt increase, though the great silence of librarians in Persia itself is not likely to be soon broken. The general plan differs from that adopted by Brockelmann: each particular branch of literature will be treated under one section and in one place, while the works and authors mentioned in each section or sub-section follow one another in chronological order. Obviously this arrangement simplifies the work and facilitates reference; the sole advantage of Brockelmann's is that it enables the student of literary history to obtain a panoramic view of the literature produced in certain parts of the Muslim world at different periods. Mr. Storey, however, does not call his book a history: it is in the strict sense "bio-bibliographical", and the limitation of scope renders it as precise in form as it is scholarly in substance. The care bestowed on details may be judged from the fact that not only are imperfect MSS. usually distinguished as such, but the extent of their deficiency is indicated wherever possible. The biographies, most of which are compressed into a few lines, conceal, as a rule, the labour that they must have cost.

Qur'ānic literature, the subject of this fasciculus, is classified under eight main heads: translations and commentaries; glossaries; pronunciation and variant readings; orthography; indexes and concordances; the talismanic virtues of the Qur'ān; fāl-nāmahs; miscellaneous works. The first works described are the version of the Arabic commentary of Ṭabarí, made *circa* 350 A.H. by a syndicate of translators for the Sámánid, Manṣúr b. Núḥ, and the Cambridge Persian Commentary of which the late Professor Browne gave a full account in the *Journal* in 1894.

The unidentified commentary (No. 6 on p. 34; numbered *A.* 2 in the Browne Collection) comprises Súras xxxviii, 20–xcvi, with considerable dislocations and, according to Browne's unpublished description, at least one large lacuna.

The author deserves unqualified congratulations on the opening instalment of his work. There is no list of corrections, and after reading the book through carefully I find nothing to correct but one slight inconsistency in transliteration: *zēb i tafāsīr* (p. 19) compared with *tartīb i zībā* (p. 53) and *tīgh wa-qalam* (p. 5, l. 3). All readers will appreciate the excellent printing, for which Messrs. Austin are responsible, as well as the skilful way in which salient features are brought out by the use of thick and thin type.

R. A. Nicholson.

Memoirs of the Colombo Museum. Series A, No. 3: Ceylon Coins and Currency. By H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., B.A. (Oxon.), F.R.N.S. 12 × 10. x, vii, Introduction, 290 pp. Six plates and a supplementary plate. Colombo: Government Printer, Ceylon, 1924. Price Rs. 10.

This important work is a corpus of Ceylon numismatics. It is intended to embrace the whole history of Ceylon coinage and currency, and the project has been admirably carried out. There is ample room for a standard work of reference, because the only book dealing with Ceylon numismatics on an adequate scale, Rhys Davids' *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877, is quite out of date. We are grateful to Mr. Codrington, who worthily maintains the family numismatic tradition, for so comprehensive and scholarly a treatise; every aspect of the subject has received extensive treatment. The preparation must have involved much labour and research.

The work begins with a full and well-informed chapter on metrology. The author discusses the beginnings and development of the various weight-standards in India as well as

Ceylon, since "for purposes of metrology and numismatics, the Island cannot be separated from the mainland". It is for this reason that coins are included of the various periods which have been found in the Island, but some of which may not have been current there.

Coins are first mentioned by name in authentic history about the middle of the second century B.C. The early money in common use was the ubiquitous silver "punch-marked" coinage. Mr. Codrington considers that the *purāṇa* continued to circulate in Ceylon, as in South India, till about A.D. 300, whereas they do not appear to have been current in North India much after the time of Christ. He traces the development of the *purāṇa* through the single-die coins, struck first on one side, and then on both, to the "maneless lion" type, known definitely to be in use in the reign of Mahasen, A.D. 277–304.

The finding at almost every port of many bronze Roman coins, "third brass" size, the majority being of Constantine the Great and his successors to the reign of Theodosius II, leads to the supposition that they formed the currency of the Island from the middle of the fourth to the end of the sixth century. Direct Roman trade ceased with the fall of Alexandria in 638. This currency was imitated, and the resulting Indo-Roman coins are described in two classes.

Mediaeval Ceylon emerged from the confusion of the sixth and seventh centuries to find itself invaded and effectively occupied from South India, but the Tamils were expelled, and the Sinhalese dominion was re-established about A.D. 1073. Fresh campaigns followed, with various changes of capital, till the arrival of the Portuguese in India in the year 1498. Mediaeval coins are of the quite characteristic "Ceylon type".

The Portuguese first landed in Ceylon in 1506, and in 1597 Philip I of Portugal, and II of Spain, was proclaimed sovereign of Ceylon. The first record of the use of larins occurs in the year 1517. The larin must have been introduced by the

Muslim merchants from the Persian Gulf region, and with gold and silver fanams formed the current coin of the interior when de Wirt visited Ceylon in 1602. Coins of European type were struck in or for Ceylon after 1597.

The Dutch East India Company was incorporated in A.D. 1602 and Dutch money was introduced into the East as early as 1617. The Dutch captured Galle in 1640 and Colombo in 1656. There is a full account of the Dutch money, a historical study illustrated by numerous extracts from contemporary histories, dispatches, and other documents.

The Dutch possessions in Ceylon surrendered to the British forces in 1796. The British at first retained the popular Dutch denominations, while currency was given to all Dutch copper coins issued by the late Government, but English copper was also to be current. On the 1st January, 1802, Ceylon came under the immediate control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. An Order in Council of 23rd March, 1825, directed the introduction of sterling currency into all the Colonies.

Appendices contain relevant quotations bearing on Ceylon numismatics in general, extracted from inscriptions, literary sources, resolutions, diaries, dispatches. There is a full index and an extensive bibliography. The work has been well produced by the Government Printer, Colombo, and there are seven good plates.

OCCASIONAL MEMOIRS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA. II: HISTORICAL STUDIES IN MUGHAL NUMISMATICS. By SHAHPURSHAH HORMASJI HODIVALA, M.A. Principal and Professor of History and Economics, Bāhāuddīn College, Junagadh, Kathiawar. With a Foreword by Mr. C. J. Brown. 8vo, x, 376 pp. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1923. Price £1.

At the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in the year 1915 I suggested in my capacity of Secretary that the works of contemporary writers should be searched in a systematic manner for passages bearing on the studmatics, coins of the Mughal Emperors of India. During th. It is year three articles appeared in the twenty-seventh Numeriods Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of* Bmay from the pen of Professor S. H. Hodivala, now Principal o the Bahāuddīn College, Junagadh, Kathiawar; these elucidated problems, hitherto unsolved, by means of documentary evidence. Nine contributions to the next Supplement treated by the historical method present difficulties of metrology and historical geography. There were notes and suggestions on unassigned or doubtful mints, the true reason for Shāh Jahān's assumption of the title *Ṣāḥibqirān* (an interesting glimpse into Oriental kabalism), and an elaborate contribution on the honorific epithets of Mughal mint-towns. The series continued, and has culminated in the Second Memoir of the Numismatic Society of India, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923.

Professor Hodivala has accomplished single-handed a remarkable piece of original research which has involved a careful study not only of contemporary Oriental histories, but also of available records of European travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the entire body of the correspondence of the East India Company from A.D. 1603 to 1659. His papers are a mine of information, not only for the numismatist, but also for the historian and economist. There are twenty-five essays covering a wide range of subjects. Mr. Hodivala is a chronological expert, and in his papers on the Ilahī Era and the Julūs years of Shāh Jahān, he builds up a system of reliable synchronisms. The study entitled "The Coin Legend Allāhu Akbar" is an important contribution to the subject of Akbar's religion. A flood of light has been thrown on Akbar's monetary system by such articles as those on "Abūl Faẓl's Inventory of Akbar's Coins" and "Tānkīs". The paper on the very curious and interesting portrait medals of Jahāngīr is a complete exposition of the subject. "The Weight of the Mughal Tola" is a study in

y. The work terminates with a list of about eight "coin references" to some twenty volumes of .s histories of the Mughal period. Mr. Hodivala .inute references to the original texts so that anyone .s hardy enough to doubt the accuracy of his translations .n easily lay his doubts at rest.

The subjects boldly assailed by Mr. Hodivala have presented many difficulties to his predecessors. Mr. Hodivala deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the subject for his industry and research, for the accuracy with which he has handled a large series of authorities, and for the literary skill and felicity of expression with which he has set out the fruits of his labours.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW: CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE SULṬĀNS OF DEHLĪ. By PRAYAG DAYAL, Curator; Assistant Secretary, Numismatic Society of India. With a foreword by H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., F.R.N.S. 8vo, iii, ii, 99 pp. Five plates. Allahabad: Government Press, 1925. Price Rs. 7.

This is a list of the coins of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, on the lines of the second volume of the Indian Museum Catalogue. It has been capably prepared by the Curator, M. Prayag Dayal, and there is a foreword by Mr. H. Nelson Wright. The strength of the collection lies rather in the completeness of the series of commoner coins than in spectacular rarities, and the catalogue has more value for the Museum itself as a reliable record of existing possession and an incentive to further endeavour, than for the numismatist. But there is material for the scientific inquirer in the careful record of weights and dates of a large cabinet. The rupees of Shamsu-d-dīn Kaiūmurṣ and Shihābu-d-dīn 'Umr are outstanding pieces of great rarity.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

THE HISTORY OF YABALLAHA III AND OF HIS VI
SAUMA. Translated by JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.
pp. 82. New York: Columbia University Press,

At last, after thirty-three years, a part of this
ordinarily interesting book is made accessible to Engl
readers. The *History of Mar Yaballaha and Bar Sauma* seems to have been written in Persian by a contemporary early in the fourteenth century, and to have been translated with abbreviation into Syriac. The Persian original is not known to exist, and there seems to be some little confusion about the history of the modern Syriac MSS., while the original from which they must have been copied is supposed to be lost. The Syriac text was published by Bedjan in 1888 and again in 1895, and it was translated into French by Dr. J.-B. Chabot, with valuable notes and illustrative matter in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vols. i, ii, iv, 1893–6. Chabot's work (except the small supplement) was issued as a separate book in 1895, but does not seem to have reached the United States in that form. Mark (Mar Yaballaha) and Bar Sauma were "Oriental Turks" or "Uigurs", perhaps in reality Onguts, born respectively in Tung-shêng in the Chinese province of Shansi and at Peking, who travelled as pilgrims to the West and settled in Persia, where after some time Mark was made Patriarch or Catholicos of the Nestorian Church. Bar Sauma later still was sent by Arghun on an embassy to the Pope and to the Kings of France and England. The book tells us the whole story of their travels from Peking to Paris, and is valuable as a contemporary source for Persian history. For accuracy of observation and for lively and humorous narrative it contrasts pleasantly with the less vivid stories of European travellers of the same age, and few books of the period can be more worthy of translation or more easy to read. The only regret is that Professor Montgomery has translated only the first half of the book, but it is to be hoped that the rest will soon follow.

The annotations are open to criticism in some small details.

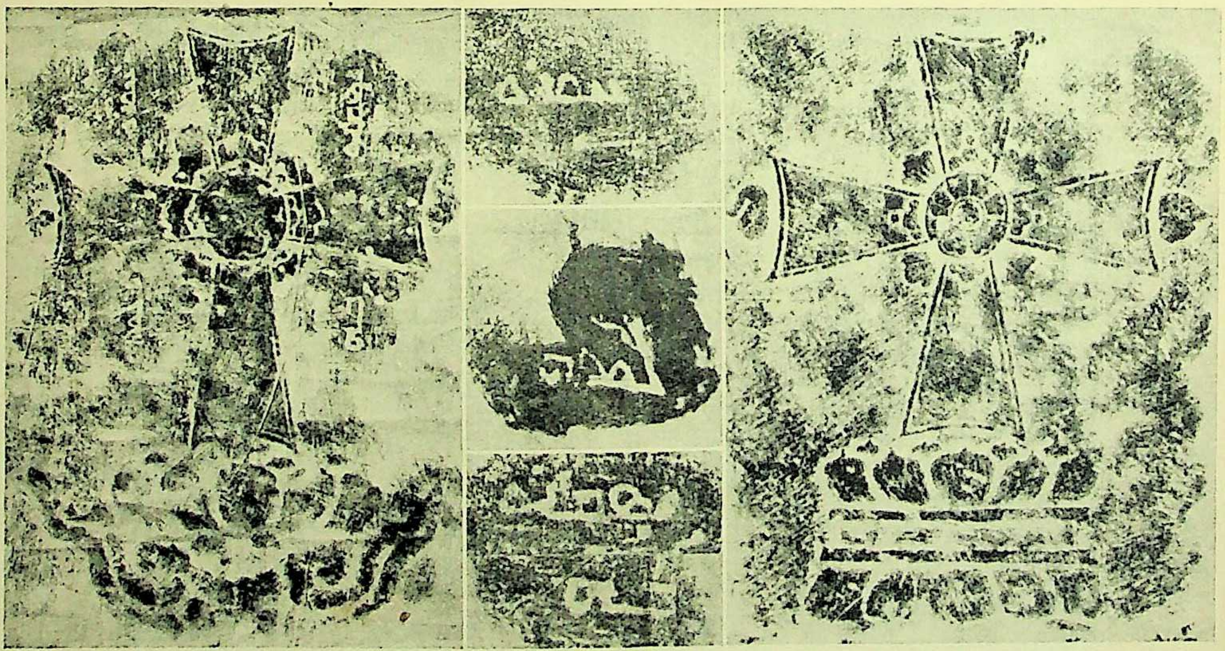


FIG. 1.—Rubbings of the Crosses found in the Shih tzŭ Monastery near Fang-shan, 1919. In the middle is the Syriac inscription on a rather larger scale.

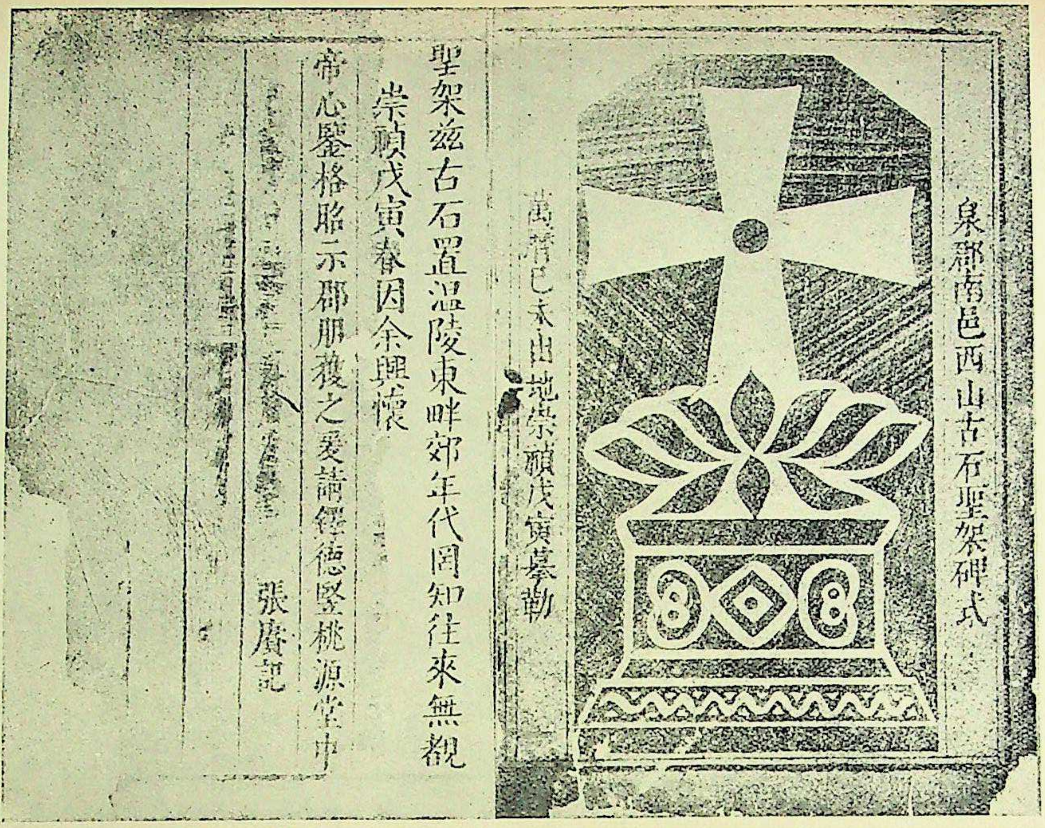
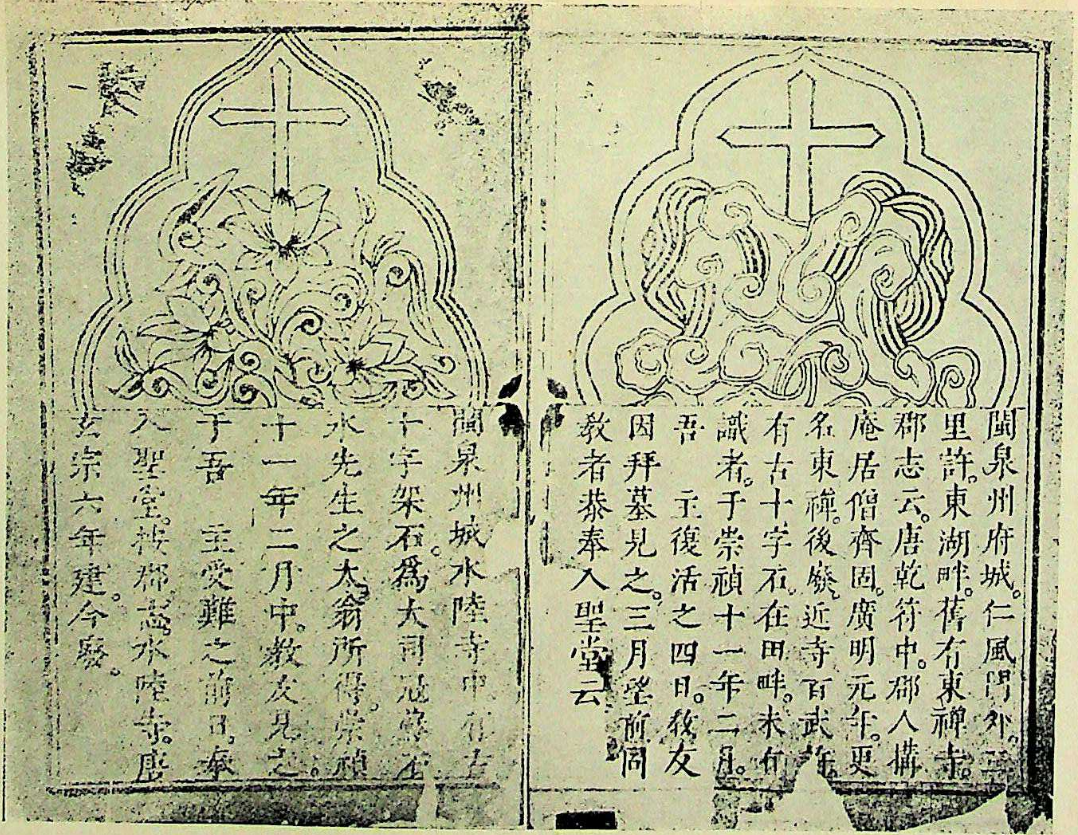

泉郡南邑西山古石聖架碑式
萬曆己未出地崇禎戊寅摹勒
聖架茲古石置溫陵東畔郊年代罔知往來無覩
崇禎戊寅春因余興懷
帝心鑒格賜示郡那獲之爰請鐸德竪桃源堂中
張賡記

FIG. 2.—Engraving of a Cross dug up in 1619 on the Hsi shan south-west of Nan-an near Ch'[illegible]n-chou, and found by the Christians in 1638. From *T'ang ching chiao pei sung* 1644.



閩泉州府城。仁風門外。三
里許。東湖畔。舊有東禪寺。
郡志云。唐乾符中。郡人構
庵居僧齋園。廣明元年。更
名東禪。後廢。近寺百武許
有古十字石。在田畔。未有
識者。于崇禎十一年二月。
吾　主復活之四日。我友
因拜墓見之。三月望前間
教者恭奉入聖堂云

閩泉州城水陸寺中有古
十字架石。爲大司寇蘇石
水先生之太翁所得。崇禎
十一年二月中。教友見之。
于吾　主受難之前日。奉
入聖堂。按郡志水陸寺。唐
玄宗六年建。今廢。

FIG. 3.—Engravings of Crosses found in 1638, one (right) on the shore of the East Lake a mile outside the east gate of Ch'üan-chou, and the other (left) in the Shui lu Monastery in the city of Ch'üan-chou. From *T'ang ching chiao pei sung chêng ch'üan*, 1644.

The author who has had access to the Library of the Columbia University and to the New York Public Library confesses that he has only used the first edition of Yule's *Marco Polo*, with the result that he writes (p. 16): " At Hankow in the South there survive the remains of a handsome Nestorian Church." Yule is not responsible for the confusion of Hankow with Hangchow (comparable to the confusion of Chicago with Boston), but he had been misled into thinking that the gate of the Jesuit Church of the seventeenth century (?) was the remains of a Nestorian Church, and the mistake was corrected in the second edition, 1875. On pages 15 and 16 we have Hsi-an fu spelt Singan-fu, Hsi-an-fu, Hsingan, and Sin-gan-fu. The last time it should be K'ai-fêng, and the date at which Ricci heard of Christians there was 1605, not 1608. To the exceptions (p. 2, note 3) to the statement that the History of Mar Yaballaha has been generally ignored by English writers may be added Dr. A. E. Moule's *The Chinese People*, 1914, pp. 314, 436; notes in this *Journal* for 1914, pp. 548, 575; Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. iii, 1920, p. 31; and " A Chinese Nestorian Pope of the East ", by Canon Danby in *Bible Lands*, 1925, pp. 395–405. The " mission (unrecorded by Chabot) of John de Monte Corvino " (p. 9), is, in fact, fully recorded on pp. 213 ff. of the 1895 edition of Chabot's work. The note on " Archaon " (p. 19) seems neither to advance our knowledge of that difficult word nor to give a very satisfactory summary of what is already known. On p. 36, note 10, Jaghatay is apparently *identified* with his brother Ogotay.

Bar Sauma began his religious life as a hermit in the city of Peking, moving after seven years to a cave in the mountains a day's journey from the city, and it is tempting to guess (though it is no more than a guess) that the site of his mountain lodging may be marked by the Monastery of the Cross (十 字 寺 Shih-tzŭ Ssŭ, the regular name of the Nestorian monasteries in the Yüan dynasty) in the district of 房 山 Fang-shan about 30 miles south-west of Peking. In this small and now deserted Buddhist monastery two beautiful crosses carved on blocks of stone were found by Mr. R. F. Johnston in 1919. They stood at the corners of the terrace in front of the Temple Hall and the one at the south-east corner had this inscription in Syriac which was kindly deciphered for me by Professor F. C. Burkitt: ܚܘܪܘ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܣܒܪܘ ܒܗ, "Look unto it and hope in it" (Ps. xxxiv, 5). On his first visit in a thunderstorm Mr. Johnston failed to find the name "Shih-tzŭ Ssŭ" except on the very modern (1917) title over the gateway, but there is, in fact, an inscription on stone dated 1365 commemorating the grant of this title by the Emperor. This makes no explicit reference to Christianity and is about a century after Bar Sauma's time, but still it may possibly mark the spot which his piety had made famous, and it will not be too irrelevant if a rubbing kindly sent me by the Postmaster of Fang-shan, through Mr. L. C. Arlington, is here reproduced together with the similar crosses of about the same date, which were found long ago near Ch'üan-chou in Fukien.[1]

A. C. MOULE.

SIR JOHN CHARDIN'S TRAVELS IN PERSIA. With an Introduction by Sir PERCY SYKES. London: Argonaut Press, 1927.

This is the third publication of the Argonaut Press, produced in a limited edition, with all the skill and finish of paper, printing, illustration, and binding that distinguishes the work of Mr. Lewis at the University Press, Cambridge. It is a magnificent edition as far as it goes, and this is said advisedly, for it is not the printer's fault that there is no index and no map—two omissions that one feels sure must hurt the writer of the introduction with his antecedents, as much as they cannot help hurting any reader with a desire for research. As far as the volume is a reprint of part of Chardin's huge work, it is as difficult for the inquirer into history as Chardin's original production, and except for clearness of type and a few appropriate changes it is no advance on it. Chardin is, however, excellent reading in any case, as anyone who peruses the book under review will find.

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[1] For the Fang-shan Crosses see "A Chinese 'Temple of the Cross'" in *The New China Review*, vol. i, pp. 89, 321, 522–33, vol. ii, pp. 421, 422; and especially "La Pagode de la Croix", by Ph. Clément (with notes by M. J. Lagrange and L. Cheikho) in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, 1922, pp. 290–7, 420–8, 464–6; 1923, pp. 218–24; 1924, pp. 52–4, with numerous excellent photographs and facsimiles.

The Ch'üan-chou Crosses are reproduced from photographs of the original edition of *T'ang ching chiao pei sung chêng ch'üan*, by Em. Diaz, Wu-lin (Hang-chou), 1644, kindly sent me by the Librarian of Zikawei. I do not know that they have been reproduced by photography from the original edition before, nor in any form in any English publication.

For yet another Cross found near Ch'üan-chou see Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asia centrale etc," in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, plate facing p. 644.

R. L. T.

THE ASATIR, THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF MOSES. By MOSES GASTER, Ph.D. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1927.

Once again, as in the case of *The Samaritans*, noticed by me in this *Journal*, I find myself a pupil sitting at the feet of a master rather than a critic with views of his own, for not only has Dr. Gaster translated the *Asatir*, the ancient book of "the smallest sect in the world", for the first time, but he has added the *Pitron* or Samaritan commentary and the Samaritan story of *The Death of Moses*, and also an exhaustive introduction and notes. A completer edition could hardly have been devised.

In his preface Dr. Gaster tells us that the introduction is intended to benefit "the superficial reader", and that the book contains "a collection of Biblical legends and a parallel to the Jewish Midrash and the pseudepigraphic literature". We all have to be "superficial readers" in some direction or other, and in this case such a reader will find it necessary to be a student of considerable scholarship if he would profit by the width and depth of the learning placed at his disposal.

Dr. Gaster then goes on to tell us that *The Asatir* or *Astir* is " the oldest book in existence of this kind of literature ", and he dates it in " the middle or end of the third century B.C.E.", say, 225 B.C. ; and he says further, " the reader will see how I have reached a conclusion as startling to me as probably it will be to him, who will take this book for the first time into his hands." He also remarks that " it was very slow and uphill work, and I had to cover a wide field, leaving no document unexamined, which might help to throw light on the date and origin of this book ". He discovered the MS. in 1907, and spent the next twenty years in working up an edition of it—years that have certainly not been wasted, if we consider the result.

It is with such remarks as those above quoted that Dr. Gaster whets the appetite of the " scholar "—I use that term advisedly, *pace* his remarks regarding the " superficial reader ", who may essay to master his many arguments. Such a reader must also be prepared to find the book controversial in places, for, as Dr. Gaster says in his examination of the pseudepigraphic literature, he has " arrived at conclusions which differ widely from those accepted to-day ". This result he has achieved with a breadth of view and a depth of scholarship which is to the present reviewer almost astonishing, and in one respect he has earned that reviewer's personal gratitude by lifting some of the Biblical legends " out of the narrow confines of Palestine and joining them to the wider cycles of world legends "—the difficulty of such an attempt being very great, as the reviewer knows from personal experience. Amongst other things, Dr. Gaster has advanced " a new view of the Antichrist legend ".

I have thus quoted largely from the preface to this book because it covers so much of the work in a few words, and because the space available in this *Journal* for notices of books precludes anything but the merest references to the innumerable points to be observed by the careful student of this edition of *The Asatir*. As one such, I can say that I have only one quarrel with it. *The Asatir*, i.e. the Samaritan text, and *The Pitron*, i.e. the Samaritan commentary, have been printed on opposite pages, but unfortunately many of these pages are far from corresponding, and the reader, who wants to take the text and commentary side by side, will have a good deal of page turning. I suppose, however, that the exigencies of space has made this trouble inevitable.

Quoting Dr. Gaster again: "The best way to describe *The Asatir* is to call it a Midrash, Agadah, or legendary supplement of the Pentateuch." The reader will, therefore, know what to expect to find in its twelve chapters—a version of the Biblical story from Adam to the death of Moses, together with the Prophecy of Moses and an Oracle. The authorship of Moses is assumed in it, and it thus belongs to the pseudepigraphic writings ascribed to Moses.

Dr. Gaster then sits down to a steady, patient investigation of the "stream of literary tradition to its remotest sources", through the Palestinian Targum, Josephus, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemos, and other Hellenistic writers. Taking the oldest first—the *Sibylline Oracle*—that "remarkable product of Jewish Hellenistic propaganda", which dates from the second century B.C. onwards, Dr. Gaster shows by close and not very easy argument that it is closely connected with the *Asatir*. He then examines the *Sibyl of Tibur*, which is of Oriental origin, and other Oracles that show a still closer and more striking parallelism to the *Asatir* on examination; and when that is finished, after much close reasoning, Dr. Gaster arrives at the conclusion that "consequently the *Asatir* must belong to a much higher antiquity than any other Oracle known"—a conclusion the importance of which cannot help striking the student.

After this Dr. Gaster examines Josephus and remarks: "It will now cause no little surprise if we assert that many of these legends [in the *Antiquities*], far from being his own invention, were in fact drawn from a source closely approximating the *Asatir*," in spite of this last work differing profoundly from his, and of his having a profound contempt for the Samaritans. Nevertheless, "the parallels between Josephus and the *Asatir* are very numerous", and again after the most careful investigations, Dr. Gaster arrives at the conclusions that neither Josephus nor the *Asatir* borrowed directly from one another, and that the evidence he has collected points to "an older source common to both . . . the common property of Jew and Samaritan alike." As he says, "the unexpected result of his investigation is to place Josephus' activity in a new light," i.e. his work is "nothing else but an enlarged Targum [exposition] in Greek of the Pentateuch, drawing its information from Aramaic paraphrases and collections of Biblical legends. Of these the *Asatir* is a Samaritan representative, thus far the oldest hitherto available."

The *Palestinian Targum* is next investigated. It is typically Jewish, and Dr. Gaster gives us a new date for it, "as the oldest of its kind . . . either as a contemporary of Josephus, or even of a somewhat earlier date." He then exhibits many parallels between the Targum and the *Asatir*, again giving an early date to the latter. Next the relation of the *Palestinian Targum* to the Oracle in the *Asatir*, which refers "to the events which are to happen at the end of days", is examined. This Oracle contains the prophecy that "a man chosen of God will return, who is to inaugurate an era of happiness and prosperity", and it is "of no mean importance to be able to trace it back to its obscure beginnings . . . A careful examination of all the dates available leads to the surprising result that the ultimate sources in the Pentateuch are the prophecies of Bileam [Balaam]", who "exercised a deep influence upon Israel", as the typical antagonist of the Jewish nation, and finally became the prototype of the Antichrist of the Christians. The interest of the general investigation here becomes evident.

I have left myself no space to go into Dr. Gaster's representations of the text of the *Asatir* itself, or of the Samaritan commentary thereon, nor into his very numerous annotations in the footnotes to the text, nor even into his remarks on the pseudepigraphic and Samaritan literature of his subject, nor his notes on the Mandæan affinities with the *Asatir*. All these and much else are worked out with the same acuteness and fullness as the portions above noted. But there is one point of the greatest interest to myself, in which Dr. Gaster discourses on "The *Asatir* and the cycles of universal *Sagas*"—the Universal King, the Return of the Hero, the Child of Destiny, and the Antichrist Legend. He makes the legends of the Hellenistic literature, Josephus, the Palestininian Targum, and the literature of the Oracles "take their place in the greater world of myth and legend not limited to one nation, but international", and finally, he states that "we have in these Samaritan legends [of the *Asatir*] the oldest prototypes, or, at any rate, the oldest yet recovered, for these different tales and legends". I have no hesitation in saying that every student of folk tales and legends should study the half-dozen pages in which Dr. Gaster develops these ideas. I have been studying for some time the tales that have collected round the names—the joint names as they turn out to be in the Near East—of St. George and al-Khiḍr, and had independently come to the conclusion that they are but a phase, despite the infinite variety of the forms, of but one or two varieties of world legends, common now to Asiatico-European civilization. As Dr. Gaster has said in his lectures before the British Academy: "I do not believe in the fecundity of human imagination."

With these remarks, which are perforce but superficial, I take leave reluctantly of a remarkable book which it must be a source of pride to this Society to have been able to publish for the author.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CHINA TO-DAY : POLITICAL. By STANLEY K. HORNBECK. 8 × 5½, 150 pp. World Peace Foundation: Boston, Mass., U.S.A., 1927.

This is a treatise on similar lines to the preceding, but differs in two respects: it has no official status, but is issued for a Society which exists for the purpose of giving an unprejudiced account of public questions of to-day; and it is written for the information of readers who, in general, are less well instructed in the affairs of the Far East than the inhabitants of Great Britain. Dr. Hornbeck was twenty years ago a Rhodes Scholar, spent four years in China as instructor, was a delegate to the Chinese Customs Tariff Commission, since 1924 has been lecturer on the History of the Far East at Harvard, and is now chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department at Washington. He has written an account which is somewhat idealistic and not sufficiently based on the historical past, but is on the whole very informing. His narrative is in three parts: I, The Revolution and Nationalism, 29 pp.; II, The Revolt against External Influences, 34 pp.; III, The Attitude and Policy of the United States, 11 pp. Then follow 76 pp. of well selected Appendices.

H. B. M.

CHINA AND THE OCCIDENT: THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOXER MOVEMENT. By GEORGE NYE STEIGER. 9 × 6⅛, xix + 349 pp. Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1927. 16*s.*

This is an age of the whitewashing of historical characters, whether persons or nations. Henry VIII is now an amiable uxorious king, whose object in suppressing the monasteries (and cutting loose from the Papacy) was to compel the lazy monks to work and so to redeem their souls; his daughter, Tudor Mary, was a kind-hearted ruler who desired to save her subjects from the awful fate which for his heresy had undoubtedly fallen on her brother, Edward VI, and did not resume the monastery lands because she wished to leave to her subjects the means of salvation; Alva harried the Netherlands for their good, France never ravaged the Palatinate, Germany had no share in the war guilt of 1914, and China, the long suffering, has never given any cause for having the unequal treaties imposed on her, or the attributes of self-respecting sovereignty filched from her. The Boxer movement of 1900 was the uprising of a justly indignant people against the Western diplomats who had attempted to impose by ultimatum an unnecessary and unjustifiable restraint on the wise action of the Chinese ministers, or had sought to spur their inaction; and the siege of the Peking legations, which historians have stigmatized as the crime of the century, was brought about by the action of the foreign diplomats in concert. This is Professor Steiger's thesis; and to maintain it he ascribes all the virtues to the Chinese ministers and people, accepts all their professions and pledges at their face value (or, in the language of the Stock Exchange, at their nominal par value), and receives all their statements as unvarying truth; while he withholds from foreign ministers and diplomats an equal credence for their statements, professions, or pledges, and makes them responsible for the consequences of their counsel or action, with no allowance for the excellence of their motives. He holds (p. 175) that the diplomatic representative has no right to demand protection for Chinese subjects, being Christian converts, who notoriously were the victims of persecution as *erh-kweitze*, secondary devils, pseudo-foreigners; and he further holds that the envoys collectively had no right to present concrete demands (p. 181), and asserts (p. 199):—

> "The demands of the diplomatic body . . . for the adoption of specific decrees, meant the assumption of sovereignty by the representatives of the Treaty Powers. If, after this point, the Boxer movement threatened to become a revolution, it was a threatened revolution against government by ultimatum vested in the diplomatic body."

Professor Steiger further adopts the contention of the Chinese, especially later Chinese publicists, that the Admirals' ultimatum and the seizure of the Taku forts constituted a definite act of war against the Government of China (pp. 187, 230, 234), and that there was nothing to justify the act, regardless of the fact that the city of Tientsin had been in the hands of armed Chinese for at least ten days, that the railway, the Admirals' line of communication with Tientsin, was cut by armed Chinese before the final conference of the Admirals, that before this "the river was full of the bodies of Chinese sympathizers who had been killed and thrown into it", that on 14th June (two days before the ultimatum was presented) three mission chapels in the city were burned, and the next day the French cathedral (Notre Dame des Victoires) and the remaining mission buildings were all destroyed. Legation guards were provided for each of the legations which were opened in Peking in 1861, but as years went by they were gradually reduced in number; substantial guards were, however, brought up in 1894, 1898, and in 1900. Whenever the writer of this work has occasion to refer to the summons of 1900 (pp. 185, 193, 195, 202, 215, 222, 228, 232), he casts a doubt on the wisdom of the step and intimates that Chinese hostility was much increased by it; the question may well be asked what would have been the fate of the personnel of the legations, the hundreds of missionaries and their families, and the thousands of Chinese converts within the siege lines, if there had been no legation guards for their defence. Professor Steiger renders a poor service to the Chinese in supporting them in a state of mind which makes it difficult for foreign governments to act in the spirit of the British note of December, 1926.

The make-up of the book is excellent, and it has a most satisfactory bibliographical note and an adequate index.

H. B. Morse.

CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS. By SIR FREDERICK WHYTE. 9½ × 6½, viii + 78 pp. Oxford University Press. 1927. 2*s*. 6*d*.

This work, which might have been entrusted to Grub Street, or, better still, to Fleet Street, has in the capable hands of Sir Frederick Whyte, successively a publicist, member of Parliament, and President of the Legislative Assembly, India, been turned into a state document. The history of China's foreign relations during four centuries has, more or less well, been condensed into eight compact pages; to the "Period of Chinese Revolt from 1900 onwards" are devoted the remaining 29 pages of the author's text; while the 40 pages of appendices have been selected with great judgment. The full title of the pamphlet—China and Foreign Powers, an historical review of their relations—is incomplete; to it should be added "in so far as they affect Great Britain"; for the writer has had constantly in mind that he was preparing a brief of the British case before the Court of Public Opinion, and no brief could have been better prepared than this.

H. B. M.

TSENG KUO-FAN AND THE TAIPING REBELLION. By WILLIAM JAMES HAIL. 8¾ × 6, xvii + 422 pp. Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1927. 18*s*.

The Taiping Rebellion brought the Chinese Empire to the verge of destruction and devastated the greater part of the Eighteen Provinces; in its course cities were sacked, and many millions of lives were lost through the incidents of war; its leaders and its armies were maintained by plunder, and nowhere was a stable government set up; and there were many to urge the recognition of what they claimed was a *de facto* government, and, in any case, was an improvement on the effete and corrupt Manchu administration. There were then only three powers that counted in Far Eastern matters—

England, France, and America, with Russia in the background; France was repelled by the ultra-Protestantism of the form of Christianity professed by the Taiping adherents, but this very quality in the early years of the rebellion attracted many earnest thinkers among the English and Americans. The governments of all three, however, reflected that it was with the Empire that their treaties of 1842–4 were made, and that the rebels were likely to denounce the unequal treaties, while giving the Western merchants no greater degree of justice, or freedom from inequitable exactions, than had been given by the established administration. They accordingly in 1853 declared neutrality between the Empire and the rebels against its authority, and maintained it in the port of Shanghai even when two of them, England and France, were at war, 1856–60, with the Empire. Thereby the Empire was saved, since, without that neutrality, the Taiping forces would beyond a doubt have taken Shanghai, and secured access to the sea and supplies of munitions and food.

Dr. Hail, Dean and Professor of History of Yali College at Changsha in the province of Hunan, China (a missionary offshoot of Yale University in America), has done well to give this history of this great rebellion and its suppression, and he has done it well; and he has done well to connect it specifically with Tseng Kwofan, who was prominent in the suppression aided by his co-provincials of Hunan, the province in which Dr. Hail's work has lain for twenty years; but he has done less well in belittling the others who shared in the labour and the glory of the suppression, which he reserves solely for Tseng. In fact the rebellion was crushed in the thirteenth year after the siege of Changsha by the ability, steadfastness, courage, and power of prompt decision of five men—three Chinese (Tseng Kwofan, Li Hungchang and Tso Tsungtang) from three provinces, and two Westerners (Ward and Gordon) from two countries of the West; and it is safe to say that the Empire could have been saved with difficulty if any one of the five had abstained. This belittling of the others and glorifying of

Tseng Kwofan pervades the whole work, but apart from that the history is good.

A few corrections of fact must be made. Li Hungchang (p. 222) was not appointed Futai of Kiangsu until July, 1862, and he did not assume control over Ward's Ever-Victorious Army until October of that year, after Ward's death, and did not provide for its maintenance from government funds (p. 252) until Gordon took command at the end of March, 1863. The abandonment of foreign neutrality between the government and the rebels was not in any way due to the "Russian offer to aid China", and only partially to "the commercial motive" (p. 228); it was made possible by the change in policy of the Court of Peking which followed on the Empress Dowager's *coup d'état* of November, 1861; and even before this the English and French allies had manifested the benevolence of their neutrality when, on 21st August, 1860, their troops were at the same time attacking the imperial forts at Taku and defending the imperial city of Shanghai from a Taiping assault. In his introduction Dr. Hail refers to the Ever-Victorious Army as a force of three thousand men, with the intent of minimizing its influence on the success of the imperial arms. After his earlier victories, in the spring of 1862, Ward was authorized to increase his force to 6,000 men; under this authority, having then the rank of Titu (Provincial Commander-in-Chief) he raised six battalions (1,000 each) of infantry, and one of riflemen (600), besides his artillery (700) and his bodyguard (200). In May, 1863, Gordon took to the siege of Kunshan 3,900 infantry, besides his artillery and bodyguard, besides garrisoning his depot, Sungkiang, against any surprise, and besides his recruiting depots. In addition, both Ward and Gordon had (what Chinese commanders never had) both discipline and artillery, and they both saw that their force received its pay in full (which the Chinese commanders never did); moreover, they had foreign officers, of whom 48 were killed in action, 73 were seriously wounded, and 130 were mustered out on the disbandment of the force at the end of May, 1864. In its four years of campaigning the Ever-Victorious Army was engaged in a hundred battles, and failed of success in only three or four; and it was a potent factor in the salvation of the Empire.

In his laudation of Tseng Kwofan Dr. Hail does less than justice to the eminent qualities of Li Hungchang and Tso Tsungtang. In the East, throughout the whole extent of Asia, officials and commanders have, generally speaking, been addicted to methods of exaction and extortion which the Occident, in its new-found virtue (about a hundred years old), stigmatizes as corruption and stealing, but which the Orient regards as the self-determination of the official's reward for his abilities and opportunities. Of the three above, Tseng and Tso may both be considered as emulating the moderation of William Pitt, Lord Chatham, while Li grasped his opportunities, in peace and war, after the manner of Sir Stephen Fox. As commanders all three were equally resolute, steadfast in adversity, and prompt in decision; but in strategy Tso Tsungtang alone displayed any great qualities, as shown in his post-rebellion campaigns in Kokonor and Turkestan. In statesmanship all three held viceroyalties; Tso Tsungtang showed no exceptional ability, but was not a failure; from Nanking Tseng Kwofan was transferred to the metropolitan province of Chihli, and at the crisis of the Tientsin massacre (1870) he showed a hesitancy and feebleness of grip that destroyed his reputation as an administrator; while Li Hungchang, his former subordinate, then his rival, and his successor in the Chihli viceroyalty, displayed a promptness of decision and a breadth of statesmanship which made him the negotiator of China's treaties until his death, and the virtual prime minister of the Empire until he was discredited by the result of the war with Japan.

Making the necessary allowance for his bias in favour of Tseng Kwofan (following a Japanese writer he styles Tseng the Washington of China), Dr. Hail has written an excellent account of an important period in the modern history of China. The book has a most satisfactory bibliography and an adequate index.

H. B. MORSE.

LES TABLETTES DE KERKOUK ET LES ORIGINES DE LA CIVILISATION ASSYRIENNE. Extrait de Babyloniaca. Tome ix, fasc. 2–4. By G. CONTENAU. Geuthner, 1926.

This is an important study of an interesting subject, which concerns anthropology, archæology, and linguistic study. In appearance, the ancient Assyrian resembled one of the mixed types supposed to have resulted from a mixture of the "Armenoid" with another race. The art of the Assyrians as represented by the seals of the second millennium is closely connected with the style called "Syro-Hittite", which originated either in North Syria or Ciliçia. Certain elements of the "Subaræan" names of people living at Kirkuk, the ancient Arrapẖa, Arrapachitis, in the fourteenth century B.C., can be aptly compared with certain Hittite and other names in Asia Minor, and even more frequently with the names of certain subjects of the Mitanni kingdom. These questions M. Contenau discusses at length, with ample illustrations of the art and a list of personal names. His views, always well argued and clearly expressed, are of considerable interest. Others will be inclined to stress differences where he has pointed out similarities; time will bring more evidence and more precision in analysis, but this study has resulted in clear gains to knowledge, and must always receive close attention from those interested in the Nearer East of the second millennium B.C.

Some part of the explanation of the intricate skein of facts must unquestionably lie in the relation of the Ḫurri and the Subaræans. It was, I think, Ungnad who first pointed out that the letter of Dushratta to Amenophis IV of Egypt was couched in a language to which the "Subaræan" names must belong. Since then he has claimed, with good reason, that the "Ḫurri" language can only be a dialect form of this Subaræan language. History makes it clear that the Ḫurri were widely spread; men of that stock were ruling various important cities of Syria in the fourteenth century, and if North Syrian art owes its particular character, as Götze has plausibly suggested, to them, some part of the chain of evidence with which M. Contenau deals may be reasonably accounted for. For what he has already given us, we thank the learned author—and voraciously demand more from his pen on this subject as the material increases.

SIDNEY SMITH.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1928)

The Council record with regret the death of M. Émile Senart, their distinguished Hon. Member. M. Senart, the doyen of the Hon. Members, elected in 1892, died on 21st February. An Obituary Notice will appear in the July *Journal*. The Society has also lost by death—

Kaviraj A. C. Bisharad.
Mr. J. N. Bose.
Dr. W. E. Geil.
Sayed Aziz Hassan-Khan.
Mr. Jagmandir Lal Jaini.
Mr. H. G. A. Leveson.
Rai Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.
Mr. Edwin Ransom.
Mr. A. J. Shelley-Thompson.

Resignations have been received from :—

Mr. Ramdat Bharadwaj.
Rev. E. J. Clifton.
Captain Arnold Platts.
Mr. J. S. Trimingham.
Rev. G. A. Wilder.

During the quarter the following have been elected :—

Moulvi Hafiz Jalul-uddin Ahmad.
Mr. Phakirdas Banerji.
Mr. Kastoor M. Banthiya.
Rai Sahib Padmanath Gohain Barooah.
Rai Sahib Gulap Chandra Barua.
Mr. Harold C. Bowen.
Mr. N. Chengalvarayan.
Mr. Abdus Satter Chowdry.
Mr. R. D. Daga.
Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dhar.
Mr. Bibhuty Bhusan Dutt.
Mr. Narendra Chandra Ghose.
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosain.
Mr. Syed Badrul Hossain.
Dr. Choudhri Zafar Husein.
Mr. Choudhri Azhar Husein.
Mr. Choudhri Hyder Husein.
Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.
Mr. K. Clement Jones.
Sayed Misbahuddin Tamkin Kazini.
Mr. Afaque Ahmed Khan.
Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain Khan.
Mr. M. Basheer Ahmed Khan, M.A.
Mr. Girijaprasanna Lahiri.
The Rev. J. McCarthy.
Mr. R. W. Malliah.

Mr. Md. Abdulla Minhas.
Rai Bahadur Sardar Jwala Sahai Misra.
Miss D. Murray.
Mr. Jagat Narain.
Mr. Bashir Ahmad Nomani.
Mr. B. P. Pande.
Mr. Y. R. Parpia.
Sastri Sohan Lal Partak.
Dr. J. G. Peters, Ph.D.
Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai.
Syed Guta Mohiuddin Qadri.
The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.
Mr. Abdul Munim Saidi.
Mr. Sayyad Sajjad, M.A.
Pandit Swarogh Chandra Jain Saroja.
Mr. Manzoor H. Siddiqi.
Mr. Bhagat Singh, B.A.
Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh.
Dr. Balwant Singh.
Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E.
Mr. C. F. Strickland, I.C.S.
Mr. V. S. Subramanyan.
Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Wahud.
Mr. John Walker, M.A.
Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden.
Mr. Wasi Mohammad Yas.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

10th January, 1928

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

Mrs. Ayscough read a paper entitled "Court Life in the T'ang Dynasty as illustrated by the Life of Tu Fu".

Mrs. Ayscough spoke of the decade A.D., 746–56 and pointed out how in her great power of recuperation, China has possessed an individual characteristic which has endured throughout her long history. From the earliest times until the present day, what may be described as a series of waves have beaten upon her shores. The flow of prosperity when a new dynasty has been established has always been followed by the ebb of adversity when this same dynasty has fallen. Underlying this surging tide has persisted a cardinal principle. This was a fixed belief in the inspired perspicacity of the man chosen by Heaven and by the "black-haired people" to become the Son of Heaven and rule the Central Flowery State. He was expected to exercise this perspicacity more especially in the choice of his Ministers, and indeed, faced with the difficulties of organizing a State, the first Rulers of a dynasty have, as a rule, chosen the best men available. With a century or two of peace, and the enervating influence of Court life, however, vigilance has invariably slackened. The clear eyes of the Son of Heaven have been clouded by the dust of flattery, intrigue has flourished, power has passed into the hands of eunuchs, and catastrophe has swept all before it.

No period in Chinese history exemplifies this reiterating occurrence more clearly than does the T'ang epoch A.D. 746–56; and no documents bear more eloquent testimony to the unhappy state of affairs existing then than do the poems of Tu Fu; furthermore, these same writings give an insight into a point of view among Chinese of the educated classes, which still exists, and which has its influence upon the state of affairs to-day. This is a deeply rooted conviction that the ideal man should not serve under a bad Government, but should retire from public into private life.

Mr. Hopkins and Sir Stewart Lockhart spoke at the conclusion of the lecture, which was illustrated by coloured lantern slides.

15th February, 1928

The monthly meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, conjointly with the Central Asian Society, when Miss Mildred Cable lectured on her journey through the Gobi Desert. The lecture was entitled "From the End of China's Great Wall to Moscow", and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Chairman of the Central Asian Society, presided.

13th March, 1928

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Director, in the Chair.

Professor S. H. Langdon read a paper entitled "Results of the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition at Kish (Hursagkalamma) and Jemdet-Nasr during the two seasons, 1925–7 and the discoveries in 1928 ".

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v–vii, 1855–9.

Griffith, *Rámáyan of Válmiki*, tr., vol. iv, 1870.

Journal of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Le Strange, *Mesopotamia and Persia in the Fourteenth Century* A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Kulūb of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi, Asiatic Society Monographs, 1903.

Le Muséon, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to the end of the series, about 1915.

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6 ; vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12 ; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863 ; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Orientalische Bibliographie, Band 1–4, 1888–91.

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CORRIGENDA

p. 293, last line, *for* 1912 *read* 1913.
p. 305, l. 13, *for* occures *read* occurs.
p. 315, text, l. 3, *for* yè *read* yē.
p. 316, l. 23, *for* àka *read* àks.

To face p. 485.]

The Papyri

Among the papyri discovered in Egypt are many dealing with taxation, for the most part between the years A.H. 80 and 100. There are lists of payments by individuals, tax rolls, notifications of taxes due, requisitions, and details of sums paid by persons and institutions. Many of these papers are fragmentary, fail us when we most want their aid, and take for granted what we most want to know. Still some things are clear. There were several taxes. The land paid both money and corn, though it is not clear whether these

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Islam and the Protected Religions

BY A. S. TRITTON

TAXATION

IN legal terminology *kharáj* means land tax, and *jizya* poll tax. It has been proved conclusively, and here it is only needful to mention the fact, that this usage is not primitive, and that both words, *kharáj* in the east and *jizya* in Egypt, meant tribute. The commonly accepted tradition is that 'Umar I imposed two taxes, land and poll, which were uniform throughout the empire.

Information about taxation is found in the papyri, historical works, law books, and those written for the instruction of secretaries.

The Papyri

Among the papyri discovered in Egypt are many dealing with taxation, for the most part between the years A.H. 80 and 100. There are lists of payments by individuals, tax rolls, notifications of taxes due, requisitions, and details of sums paid by persons and institutions. Many of these papers are fragmentary, fail us when we most want their aid, and take for granted what we most want to know. Still some things are clear. There were several taxes. The land paid both money and corn, though it is not clear whether these were two separate taxes or parts of one; the *tetartia*, paid in money; requisitions which seem to have been paid usually in money; special requisitions of milk and honey; and the poll tax. No Muslim is recorded as paying taxes. This might be chance, but, considering the testimony of Muslim historians, it is certain that they did not pay.[1]

Poll Tax

There is no record of a woman paying poll tax, which agrees with the statements of the historians and lawyers. Not all men paid it. Some priests paid, but others did not (1420, 38–47, 49, 77). Sons and children (presumably grown up) paid while other children (presumably minors) did not (1420, 39, 45, 87). There is no evidence that monks paid. The rate of assessment varied, it was 3 dínárs (1427, 5; 1428, 6), 2½ (1428, 5), and 4 (1428, 11). Easement was given by assessing a man as a fraction of a person, so nine men are counted as 8⅓ (1427, 5). In A.H. 195 a baker paid ½ dínár (670). A few totals will show the amounts actually paid:—

95	men pay	230	dínárs.	7	men pay	20½	dínárs.
5	„	7⅙	„	5	„	13	„
7	„	17	„	12	„	25⅙	„
15	„	38½	„	44	„	108⅔	„

(1420, 3, 146)

Land Tax

The land paid both cash and corn; for convenience we may call the latter payment the corn tax. Landholders including women paid this tax and some who had no land even paid the corn tax. Tradesmen paid a special tax, apparently in place of the land tax. Corn land and vineyards were registered separately and probably at different rates (1339). The palms and acacias were counted (577). The rate of the land tax varied; often it was 1 dínár on 4 *aroura*, though it might be as low as ⅔ or as high as 1⅙. In one case

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[1] In the references to papyri numbers below 1000 refer to *Führer durch die Ausstellung des Erzherzog Rainer*, those above to *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. iv.

3·4 *aroura* of irrigated land and 5·1 of unirrigated each paid 1 dínár (1428).

Some leases of crown lands of a later date may serve for comparison. (The last three were certainly granted to Muslims.)

40 feddán at a rent of 30 dínárs, for 10 feddán were without water and not taxable. A.H. 176 (621).

50 feddán at a rent of 50 dínárs and payment in kind. A.H. 177 or 178 (625).

1 dínár, 10 ardebb of wheat, and $3\frac{1}{3}$ ardebb of barley for the feddán. No date (626).

1 dínár and 15 ardebb of wheat the feddán for wheat land and 1 dínár, $\frac{1}{2}$ ardebb of wheat, and $\frac{1}{6}$ ardebb of barley for land under barley. A.H. 180 (638).

At the end of the first century most of the holdings seem to have been small; the biggest sum paid by an individual was about 9 dínárs (1419). The following prices and wages will be useful for estimating the real value of money. In A.H 80 20 ardebb of wheat cost 1 dínár and in A.H. 88 12 cost 1 dínár, while later 10 ardebb of wheat or 20 of barley cost 1 dínár. (587, 1433, 1434). In A.H. 92 1 sheep cost $\frac{1}{2}$ dínár (1375).

A ship-builder for wages and expenses got 2 dínárs a month.

A caulker for wages and expenses got $1\frac{1}{2}$ dínárs a month (1410).

A carpenter for wages and expenses got $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dínár a month (1336).

A sawyer got 11 dínárs yearly, a labourer 16, and a carpenter 23. (1341, 1366.)

In A.H. 88 the corn tax was roughly 1 ardebb for every dínár of the land tax (1420) but in 96 (?) it was 2 ardebb to the dínár (1424). In 98 and the five following years the land tax of Aphrodite (Ashkuh) remained constant at 6951 dínárs 15 carats, i.e. $\frac{15}{24}$. It was not always so. In A.H. 80 Psurou (بسرو) paid 70 dínárs 21 c. and in 91 it paid $104\frac{1}{3}$ (1412, and *Der Islam*, 2, 267).

The following list shows how payments varied :—

	A.H. 80–85.	A.H. 91.
Pakaunis	371 dínárs.	498 dínárs.
Empheuteuon	390 ,,	131⅓ ,,
Bounon	40 ,,	47⅙ ,,
Keranios	50 ,,	25⅓ ,,
Poimen	102 ,,	30⅓ ,,
Monastery of Mary	114 ,,	98 ,,
,, Pharos	111 ,,	5⅙ ,,
,, Mary	48 ,,	47½ ,,
3 Pediades	436⅓ ,,	400⅚ ,,
2 ,,	233 ,,	253⅙ ,,
5 ,,	421 ,,	461½ ,,
Monastery of Barbaros	110 ,,	10 ,,
	(1412, 1419, PSR)	

Again for the years	A.H. 88	and	A.H. 97
Desert monastery of Mary	30⅙ dínárs.		114 dínárs.
Abba Ermaotos	28⅙ ,,		189⅓ ,,

It is clear from these figures that some of the monasteries were rich ; the desert monastery of Mary had eight estates in A.H. 98, and that of Barbaros had ten (1419).

The central government notified a district how much it had to pay and local officials distributed the sum among the taxpayers. A typical notice is, "From Ḳurra b. Shuraik to the people of Psurou. Your share of the tribute for the year 88 is 104⅓ dínárs and of the corn tax 11⅓ ardebb wheat Written by Rashíd Ṣafar 91." It seems that the lunar year 91 was the solar year 88.[1]

Tertartia

This was about 1 per cent of the land tax. It is noteworthy that R. 609 has a list of three money taxes and a Syriac historian speaks of taxes, tribute, and poll tax.[2]

Requisitions fall into two classes ; those "included in the schedule" and those not included. The "included" requisitions bear no fixed proportion to the land tax ; but vary from one-half in the case of Sakoore to one-ninety-second in the case of Pakaunis. The "not included" vary even more (1413). The requisitions for milk and honey were not levied on the smaller subdivisions. Indeed the smaller places seem to have been burdened only with the bigger, more general requisitions. The following table shows the requisitions on three monasteries :—

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[1] Caetani, *Annali*, vol. iv, pl. v.

[2] *Chronica minora Syriaca*, 335.

	Holy Mary.	Barbaros.	Abba Ermaotos.
Allowance for the Commander of the Faithful . . .	—	—	—
Goods for the boats . . .	$\frac{2}{3}$	—	$\frac{2}{3}$
Cloth for a hair tent . .	$\frac{5}{12}$	$\frac{1}{12}$	? $\frac{5}{12}$
Fine	$33\frac{1}{16}$	—	$28\frac{1}{3}$
Half sailor for the fleet, expenses, and 2 measures of boiled wine for the Muhájirún .	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
2 measures of boiled wine for the Muhájirún of the fleet .	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
Carriage of goods for the boats at Klysma	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Pile for embankment . .	$\frac{1}{6}$	—	—
Expenses of governor . .	$\frac{5}{6}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{5}{6}$
Care of embankment . .	$\frac{1}{4}$	?	—
Goods for Klysma . . .	—	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
Sailor for Anatolian fleet and expenses	—	—	$\frac{1}{4}$
40 workmen for the mosque at Damascus . . .	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Care of embankment, baskets .	50	20	?
Money total (dínárs) . .	$36\frac{11}{12}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$31\frac{2}{3}$

(A.H. 88, 1433.)

Contributions are often mentioned. It is not certain if these were the same as the requisitions or not. From the Rainer collection come the following. 20 ardebb of barley (551), 3,164 ardebb of wheat (A.H. 21 553), 3 meals for men (555), 342 ardebb of wheat and 171 measures of oil for 342 soldiers and 12 armourers (?) (557). This last reminds one curiously of ‘Umar’s method of finding out how much was wanted by the soldiers as rations. Then 65 sheep (558) and 99 horses (564) are called for. In A.H. 91 is a demand for 70 *camisia* at $\frac{1}{4}$ dínár each for “the subsidy of the Commander of the Faithful” (1362). Divers articles of food are wanted by the governor “for the maintenance of us and the officials who are with us, both Arabs and Christians, and of various persons

. . ." (1375). Many sailors were wanted for the fleets and the taxpayers had to provide their wages ; hence the frequent occurrence in the accounts of half a sailor or some other fraction, the district having to provide that part of his wages. Labourers had to be supplied for work in Jerusalem and Damascus and their wages paid.

At this time many of the Egyptian peasants fled from their holdings. It is safe to assume that one reason for their doing so was the burden of taxation.

It is obvious that there are serious discrepancies between the account given by the lawyers, and that of the papyri. The latter prove the existence of taxes which are not even hinted at by the legal system.

The Historians

The terms given to the various places conquered were not on a model imposed from Medína, but depended on local conditions and the temper of the victor. For the sake of completeness, terms imposed by the prophet, whether historical or legendary, are included in the following list of treaties.

The prophet wrote to Baḥrain, " Whoso prays facing in the same direction as we do and eats what we kill is a Muslim with the same privileges and duties as we have. Whoso does not do this must pay one dínár in Ma'áfirí cloaks.[1]

Some of the people of Baḥrain made peace, promising to pay half their dates and corn.[2]

Every adult male in Baḥrain paid one dínár,[3] in Yemen one dínár or its value in cloth.[4]

A male dhimmí in Yemen paid one dínár. A governor tried to take one-fifth of the crops, but was not allowed to. A Christian living in Mecca paid one dínár a year.[5]

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[1] *Kharáj*, Abú Yúsuf, 75.
[2] Baládhurí, *Futúḥ*, 80.
[3] Baládhurí, *Futúḥ*, 81.
[4] Baládhurí, *Futúḥ*, 71.
[5] *Kitábu 'l-Umm*, iv, 101.

The terms with Nejrán were: (1) the payment of 2,000 cloaks of the average value of 40 dirhams weight of silver; any deficiency could be made good in horses, camels, arms, or provisions; (2) the entertaining of the prophet's messengers for a month; (3) the supply of 30 horses, 30 camels, and 30 coats of mail in the event of war in Yemen; these were to be made good by the prophet if destroyed. The tribute of cloaks was diminished by 'Uthmán and by subsequent Caliphs as the numbers of the Nejránís decreased.[1]

On his return to Medína from Tebúk, the prophet imposed a tax on the dhimmís in Medína, Mecca, Khaibar, Yemen, and Nejrán, 1 dínár or thereabouts on the men, and nothing on the women and children.[2] He levied 1 dínár a head on Tebúk and Aila.[3]

In the reign of Abú Bekr almost the first place outside Arabia to be conquered was Boṣrá; there every adult male had to pay 1 dínár and 1 jaríb of wheat.[4] The same terms were given to Antioch later.[5] Banikia paid 1,000 dínárs and a *ṭailasán.*[6]

In the reign of 'Umar conquests became rapid. Many traditions refer to Syria but it is impossible to know whether they mean Damascus or Syria as a whole.

At first every one paid 1 dínár and 1 jaríb, but later 'Umar changed this.

Khálid imposed on Damascus 1 dínár, 1 jaríb, and oil and vinegar.[7] Abú 'Ubaida imposed a fixed tribute, not to be increased if they multiplied, not to be diminished if they became fewer.[8]

2 dínárs a head and food. Some were taxed according to their ability to pay; if their wealth increased so did the tax, if it diminished the additional tax was dropped.[9]

On adult males 4 dínárs, 2 mudd wheat, 3 ḳisṭ oil, and the duty of entertaining Muslim travellers for three days.[1] Another version makes the wheat and oil a monthly payment, adds to these ghee and honey, and omits the entertainment.[2]

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[1] Bal. 64.
[2] Aṣ-Ṣúlí, *Adabu 'l-kuttáb,* 214.
[3] Bal. 59.
[4] Bal. 113.
[5] Bal. 147.
[6] Bal. 244.
[7] Bal. 124.
[8] Ibn 'Asákir, i, 178.
[9] Ibn 'Asákir, i, 150.

In Raḳḳa every man paid 1 dínár, several ḳafíz of wheat, vinegar, oil, and honey.[3]

In Edessa every man paid 1 dínár and 2 mudd of wheat.[4] In Al-Jazíra—North Mesopotamia—tribute was at first paid in kind, food, oil, and vinegar. Then 'Umar reduced this, and introduced the graduated poll tax with 2 mudd of wheat and 2 ḳisṭ each of oil and vinegar.[5] Another version is 1 dínár, 2 mudd of wheat, and 2 ḳisṭ each of oil and vinegar, and that 'Abdu'l-Malik raised it to 4 dínárs without grading.[6]

Barusma and az-Zawábí agreed to pay 4 dirhams a head. Barusma broke faith and was sacked.[7] This resembles the story that Constantine the Patrician of Syria told 'Umar that the terms imposed by Abú 'Ubaida were 4 dirhams and a cloak a head. He afterwards confessed that this was his own invention.[8] It also resembles the treaty made by 'Ishoyahbh whereby the rich paid 10 dirhams and the poor 4.[9]

There is a story that is almost unbelievable but yet is too curious to have been invented. The tribe of Bajíla formed a quarter of the army which fought at Ḳádisíya so 'Umar promised them a quarter of the Sawád—South Mesopotamia. Finally he persuaded their chief Jarír b. 'Abdullah to surrender his claims—according to one story, after he had enjoyed them for three years—for 80 or, in another version, 400 dínárs. A woman refused to give up her share till 'Umar gave her a pure-bred camel with a red saddle-cloth and filled her hands with gold. Another version is that after the battle of Jalúlá Jarír gave up his rights at the Caliph's request. Yet another says that every man of the tribe received a pension of 2,000.[10]

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[1] Bal. 152.

[2] Bal. 125.

[3] Bal. 173.

[4] Bal. 174.

[5] Bal. 178.

[6] *Kharáj*, 23.

[7] Bal. 251.

[8] *JAOS.*, xli, 389.

[9] Thomas of Marga, ii, 126 n.

[10] Bal. 267.

Other places paid lump sums. Ḥíra paid 80,000 or 100,000 dirhams yearly.[1] Yaḥyá says, "Terms were made with the men of Ḥíra to pay a sum which they distributed among themselves; there was no fixed amount on the individual."[2]

Anbár paid 400,000 dirhams and 1,000 cloaks.[3]

Edessa and Ḥarrán paid fixed sums.[4] Ḥimṣ paid 170,000 dínárs according to one story, but Ṭabarí says that some of the inhabitants paid 1 dínár and food.[5]

The Samaritans at first paid poll tax. Yazíd b. Mu'áwiya made them pay land tax and put a poll tax of 2 dínárs on those in the Jordan province and 5 on those in Palestine. Some of them appealed to Mutawakkil and he cut it down from 5 to 3.[6]

When Tiflis was captured in the reign of 'Uthmán, each family agreed to pay 1 dínár, both sides promising to play fair in counting families.[7]

In the treaty made by Suráḳa (A.H. 22) with the people of Armenia and the Gates, it was arranged that they should join the Muslim armies and military service take the place of tribute. Those who did not join the army had to pay the same tribute as the people of Ádherbaiján.[8]

In al-Jazíra the villagers were treated exactly as the townspeople except that they had to supply rations to the Muslims.[9]

Egypt. The traditions are many.

2 dínárs on every male.[10]

2 dínárs a head and food for the Muslims.[11]

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[1] Bal. 243.

[2] *Kitábu 'l-Kharáj*, Yaḥyá b. Adam, 36.

[3] Bal. 246.

[4] *Kharáj*, 23.

[5] Bal. 130. Ṭabarí, i, 2391. *Futúḥ Shám*, Azdí, 128.

[6] Bal. 158.

[7] Bal. 201.

[8] Ṭab. i, 2665.

[9] *Kharáj*, 23.

[10] Maḳrízí, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 76.

[11] Maḳrízí, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 294.

2 dínárs and food. The food was later compounded for at the rate of 2 dínárs, making a tax of 4.[1]

2 dínárs on every adult male, and on 1 jaríb 1 dínár and 3 ardebb of food.[2]

2 dínárs on every male except the poor, and on every landowner 3 ardebb of wheat, and 2 ḳisṭ each of oil, honey, and vinegar. All had to provide clothing for the army, shoes, trousers, turbans, coats, and cloaks.[3] Aṣ-Ṣúlí gives the same tribute without the clothing.[4]

The graded money tax, 12 ardebb of wheat yearly and 3 days' entertainment of Muslims.[5]

It is said that 'Amr imposed a tax of 26⅔ dirhams on all, and on the rich 2 dínárs and 3 ardebbs of wheat.[6] This is intelligible if the second tax was in addition to the first when the rich would have paid about twice as much as the poor.

It is definitely stated that the Copts paid to the Muslims the same tribute they had paid to the Byzantines.[7]

The general impression gained from these traditions is that the larger part of the tribute was derived from a poll tax. The papyri show that the poll tax was a smaller item than the land tax. It was held that if a town had capitulated the terms of the capitulation were binding on the Muslims, whereas they were free to do as they liked with one that had been captured by force of arms. There was much discussion whether Egypt had capitulated or not. The discussion was purely academic though traditions were quoted on both sides. Mu'áwiya tried to add to the tribute of Egypt but the attempt was foiled by the refusal of Wardán, a freedman of 'Amr's.[8] On the other side this tale is told. The headman of Ikhna came to 'Amr and said, "Tell us what tribute each one has to pay, and we will pay it." 'Amr pointed to a corner of the church and said, "If you gave me that filled with money from

[1] Bal. 216.

[2] Bal. 215.

[3] Bal. 214.

[4] Ṣúlí, 217.

[5] Bal. 125. Maḳ. i, 76.

[6] Abú Ṣáliḥ, *Churches*, 75.

[7] Maḳ. i, 76.

[8] Bal. 217.

the floor to the roof, I would not tell you what you have to pay. You are our treasury. If we need much you will pay much, if our burdens are small, so will yours be."[1]

There can be no doubt that the tribute to Egypt—and probably of other provinces was increased. 'Abdullah b. Abí Sarḥ extracted a bigger revenue than did 'Amr, though the figures twelve and fourteen millions are exaggerated, and 'Amr's defence before the Caliph is famous. Other increases are mentioned. While 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz was governor a census of the monks was taken, and they were made to pay 1 dínár each.[2] Severus says, "This was the first *jizya*." It is not clear whether he means the first poll tax or the first tribute paid by monks.

Aṣ-Ṣúlí has an account that deserves to be quoted in full. "These terms were given them; their wives, children, estates, and houses were not to be sold, their treasures not confiscated, and no addition made to their tribute. This continued till 'Abdullah b. Sa'd b. Abí Sarḥ became governor; he raised two million of revenue till the reign of 'Abdu 'l-Malik who made his brother 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz governor of Egypt. He made a survey of the estates—which were many—and gave fiefs to some soldiers. This added to the burden on the payers of poll tax who were asked to pay a million dínárs. They went to 'Abdu 'l-Malik and complained. When they came back 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz added to their tribute.[3]

The tribute was increased by two-thirds; no date is given.[4] Ḳurra b. Shuraik added 100,000 dínárs to the tribute.[5] Usáma made each monk pay 1 dínár.

'Umar II freed the estates of the church and the bishops from *kharáj* but Yazíd restored these taxes.[6]

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[1] Maḳ. i, 77, 168.
[2] Maḳ. ii, 492. Severus, *Patriarchs*, ed. Seybold, 134.
[3] Ṣúlí, 217.
[4] Sev. 136.
[5] Sev. 140.
[6] Sev. 143.

In the reign of Hishám the tribute was doubled.[1]

Ibnu 'l-Ḥabḥáb increased the tribute by one-eighth or one-twenty-fourth.[2]

Abu 'l-Ḳásim doubled the tribute.[3]

In A.H. 167 Músá b. Muṣ'ab doubled what was taken from each feddán and laid taxes on those who had stalls in the markets and on animals.[4] This was evidently part of the policy of the caliph Hárún who added to the tribute of the Christians so that many emigrated and fled from their estates leaving them in the hands of the Arabs.[5] Another increase was made in A.H. 213.[6]

The phrase "doubled the tribute" is so common that clearly it is not to be taken literally. Even if Christian evidence is suspect, there is enough Muslim testimony to prove that the tribute of Egypt was made heavier.

Methods of Assessment

The mode of assessment outlined in the demand notes of the governor preserved among the papyri is described by Maḳrízí following Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam. This account takes the original assessment for granted and treats of increases only. The method is the same. "'Amr when he was sure of the tribute (or, had received assurances from the officials), fixed for the Copts the tribute paid before to the Greeks. That had been allotted justly. If a village had been cultivated and populous, the tribute had been increased; if the inhabitants and the land neglected, it was diminished. Those who know the villages, the officials, and the heads of the people, came together and examined the state of cultivation; then, if they decided on an increase, they allotted this between the districts. They met the village headmen and divided it according to the capacity of the villages and the extent of their fields. Then each one took its share (of the increase) and combined it with the tribute and the cultivated area. They began by subtracting two feddáns from the total area for their churches, carts, and boats; then they subtracted enough to meet the entertainment of Muslims and visits of the ruler. Next they estimated the number of workmen and hirelings in each village, and gave them shares according to their ability. If there were any fugitives (from other places) they were given shares equal to their ability. A share was seldom given except to young or married men. Then they took what was left of the tribute, and divided it among themselves in proportion to the size of their holdings. Then a re-arrangement was made for those who were ready to cultivate according to their capacity. If a man could not cultivate his land and pleaded inability, they gave what he could not work to those who could; and he who was ready to do more than his share supplied the deficiencies of the weak. If they acted stingily towards each other, division was made according to their preparedness. The basis of the division was the twenty-four ḳíráṭs in the dínár.

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[1] Sev. 145.

[2] Sev. 150. Kindí, *Governors*, 73. Maḳ. ii, 492.

[3] Sev. 155, 163.

[4] Kindí, 125.

[5] *Syriac Anonymous*, ed. Chabot, 2, 3.

[6] Kindí, 185.

"Each feddán paid $\frac{1}{2}$ ardebb of wheat and 2 waiba, that is 12 mudd of barley. Clover (or mimosa leaves for tanning) was not taxed. 'Umar took from tributaries the appointed sum, neither more nor less. He considered the case of those who surrendered on condition of paying tribute, though no sum had been fixed; if needful he fixed it low, but if they were rich he made it higher."[1]

It is well to emphasize certain points in this description. The agreement with the papyri has already been noted. Land is held by the commune rather than by individuals. Fugitives who have tried to escape the burden of taxation do not succeed in doing so entirely. Certain fields are set apart to meet the cost of public works, but this does not mean any lightening of the burden of tribute for it presses more heavily on the remaining land. The entertainment of Muslims is a communal matter not a private one, as is suggested by most references to this duty. In its emphasis on the fairness and the good temper of the proceedings it reads like a rescript from the governor.

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[1] Maḳ. i, 76.

Land Tax

Most detailed accounts of the land tax refer to Mesopotamia. A selection of them follows. The unit of measurement is always the jaríb, a square of 60 cubits side, the area sown by a jaríb, a measure of capacity.

1 dirham and 1 ḳafíz. "He left them the palms for their own use."

Vineyards	10	dirhams.	
Palms	5	,,	(10 B.)
Sugarcane	6	,,	
Wheat	4	,,	
Barley	2[1]	,,	
Vineyards	10	,,	
Vegetables	6	,,	
Sesame	5	,,	
Summer Greens	3	,,	
Cotton	5[2]	,,	
Peas, vineyards, sesame, vegetables	8	,,	
[Palms were not taxed.]			
Vineyards and vegetables	10	,,	
Wheat	2	,,	2 jaríb.
Cotton	5	,,	
1 palm (fárisí)	1	,,	
,, (diḳla)	½	,,	
Barley	1	,,	1 jaríb.
Bad land	½[3]	,,	
Rough wheat	1½	,,	1 sá'.
Medium wheat	1	,,	
Fine wheat	⅔	,,	

Barley paid about half these rates, and vegetables, etc., were free. Gardens (palms, fruit-trees, vineyards) 10 dir.[4]

These lists all agree with the statement that the tribute of Mesopotamia was fixed by "measurement" (مساحة).

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[1] Bal. 269. Ṣúlí, 218.

[2] Ṣúlí, 218.

[3] Bal. 270.

[4] Bal. 271

hired s figures are very different from those given by Ibn that wl for Persia, where the tribute was also by “measurement”. Taxes were heaviest in Shíráz. His figures are for the big jaríb, $3\frac{2}{3}$ of the small jaríb.

Wheat and barley (watered by streams)			170 dirhams.
Trees	”	”	192	”
Vegetables	”	”	$237\frac{2}{3}$	”
Vineyards	”	”	1425	”

In Kuvár taxes were two-thirds of the above. There had been no tax on vines and fruit-trees in the plains till A.H. 302, when ‘Alí b. ‘Ísá b. al-Jarráḥ imposed the land tax.[1]

Ibn Ḥawkal also says that in Egypt Jawhar the minister of Al-Mu‘izz made the rate 7 dínárs on the feddán; before it had been $3\frac{1}{2}$.[2] In part of Upper Egypt the corn tax had been at the time of the Fáṭimids 3 ardebb on the feddán, in A.H. 572 it was $2\frac{1}{2}$, and later 2.[3] Some comment is necessary. The kafíz was either $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the jaríb. Now a crop may be anything from 13 to 25 times the amount of seed sown. So the tax in kind, if it were one ḳafíz would be at the highest estimate one-seventy-eighth part or one hundred and thirtieth of the crop. The addition of the dirham to be paid in money would not bring the tax anywhere near the tithe which the Muslim farmer paid. A tax of two jaríb (capacity) sounds more reasonable. Ibn Ḥawḳal's figures seem to err on the other side; especially the tax on vineyards, unless the policy of the government was to tax them out of existence. It is impossible to believe that palms were tax-free. Possibly in those parts where isolated trees only were found there was no tax on them. It is definitely said that solitary palms regarded as common property were not taxed.[4] It is more likely that the figures 1 dínár or $\frac{1}{2}$ on each palm according to the quality of the tree are right. The Turkish government levied a tax of 7 piastres on each tree, though they are said to have been not over careful in counting them.

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[1] Ibn Ḥawḳal, 216.

[2] Ibn Ḥawḳal, 108.

[3] Mak. i, 101.

[4] Bal. 271.

Poll Tax

Most of the information about the poll tax com the lawyers. Books usually say that it was graduated, four, two, or one dínár in lands with a gold currency, that is Syria and Egypt, while where silver was current the dínár was reckoned at 12 dirhams, in Mesopotamia and Persia. Another theory makes the dínár equal to ten dirhams. This system is too simple; the differences of the schools show that this amount of agreement is fictitious.

The views of the four imams are these:—

Abú Ḥanífa says that the poll tax is fixed at 12, 24, and 48 dirhams.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal says that it is not fixed, but is at the discretion of the ruler. Another version of his teaching is that the lower limit is fixed but not the upper.

Málik says that it is fixed at 4 dínárs or 40 dirhams. Probably he mentions the highest rate only, and takes the others for granted. Sháfi'í says that it is fixed, 1 dínár on rich and poor alike. These differences reflect different local conditions. Sha'rání says this definitely, for he writes, "These differences are due to the fact that the Imáms take into account the conditions prevailing in the countries in which they live."

If a man were too poor to pay the lowest rate, Sháfi'í held that he should be banished. The other three held that he should be excused payment.[1] Another writer says that he who cannot pay the graded tax should be given relief.[2]

From these statements of the lawyers' views it is clear that the commonly accepted history is a later systematization.

Opinions differed as to who paid. Abú Yúsuf says that women, boys, the poor in receipt of alms, the indigent blind, the paralysed, and aged did not pay. Some add to this list servants, lunatics, and men who live in cells. On the other hand Sháfi'í held that the paralysed, aged, blind, monks, and hired servants paid.[1] In one place the *Kitábu 'l-Umm* assumes that women may at times pay.[2]

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[1] Mízán, Sha'rání, ii, 161.

[2] Yaḥyá, 9.

Ḥasanu 'l-Baṣrí said, "monks pay no *jizya* because they are poor and have left the world."[3] Ibn 'Abdu 'ul-Ḥakam knows that monks pay no taxes for "the dhimmís have to bear the tribute of those of them who turn monks".[4] Abú Yúsuf says that rich monks were taxed. If a convent had estates or property in trust the father superior paid for the monks under him. If he pleaded poverty he was allowed to take an oath valid in his religion and was excused payment.[5] Theodosius, a Chalcedonian Christian who held high office in Alexandria, was an enemy of the Coptic patriarch Agatho and made him pay 36 dínárs *jizya* for his disciples. Presumably these were monks so we may conclude that at that time it was not usual for monks to pay tribute.[6] It has already been said that in Egypt 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz made the monks pay *jizya*, while Usáma's action was to prevent men escaping tribute by becoming monks. 'Alí b. 'Ísá wished to take the *jizya* from bishops, monks, and poor Christians but the Caliph Muḳtadir stopped him.[7]

Entertainment of Muslims

The rules for this varied. Where there was a gold currency they had to be entertained for three days, but in South Mesopotamia only for a day and a night. The food to be supplied was bread, porridge, condiments, oil, milk, ghee, cooked vegetables, fish, or meat, whatever was easy to provide. Three was the maximum number to be received.[8] Ḥimṣ is said to have come under the one day and night rule.[9] If rain delayed these guests beyond the legal time, they had to pay.[10] When some dhimmís complained to 'Umar that these guests laid on them a burden greater than they could bear, asking for chicken and sheep, he said, "Give them only what you yourselves eat and such of your food as is lawful for them."[1] Ma'mún gave orders to release the Christians from the duty of providing lodgings in their houses for soldiers.[2]

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[1] *Kharáj*, 69. *ízán*, ii, 160.

[2] *Kitábu 'l-Umm*, iv, 98.

[3] Ṣúlí, 216.

[4] Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, *Futúḥ Miṣr*, 156.

[5] *Kharáj*, 69.

[6] Sev. 113.

[7] Maḳ. ii, 495.

[8] *Kitábu 'l-Umm*, iv, 102, 124.

[9] *Futúḥ*, Azdí, 152.

[10] Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 152.

Taxes on Trade

'Umar I instituted taxes on trade. The common tradition is that the rates were, for a Muslim 2½ per cent, for a dhimmí 5, and for a foreigner 10. The tax was paid once a year only. Málik, however, held that it was paid on every trade journey. A Taghlibí or Nejrání was on the same footing as another dhimmí, but a Magian was treated as a foreigner. Another tradition is that only foreigners paid this tax at a rate of 10 per cent. Another says 10 per cent on dhimmís, and still another that a dhimmí did not pay in his own province, but every time he went outside it he paid 10 per cent.[3]

'Umar I took from the Nabaṭæans 5 per cent of the wheat and oil to encourage the transport of these goods to Medína, and 10 per cent on the pulse. A governor in the time of 'Umar took ten per cent from the Nabaṭæans.[4] The author tries to reconcile these two statements but evidently knows nothing about the matter. Another version of the same tradition is that 'Umar took 10 per cent from Copts in Medína and 5 per cent on wheat and raisins.

The tax on slaves was 10 dirhams and on horses and camels 8.[5] The minimum taxable was 200 dirhams, 20 dínárs, or 20 mithḳáls; but 'Umar II is said to have made 10 dínárs the minimum for a dhimmí: this was the doctrine of Abú Ḥanífa.

The goods of a slave were not taxed. A dhimmí wine-merchant had to have his goods valued by two other dhimmís. If a dhimmí declared that his debts equalled the value of his goods he paid nothing. At one time in Yemen taxes on wine presses, bridges, and roads were abolished, but had to be restored because of the loss to the revenue.

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[1] Ibn 'Asákir, i, 179.

[2] *Syr. Anon.*, ii, 15.

[3] Most references to trade taxes are from *Kharáj*, 77. Mak. ii, 121.

[4] *Kitábu 'l-Umm*, iv, 125.

[5] Mak. i, 103.

In the fourth century in Persia in addition to the religious taxes, there were tithes on shipping, fifths from mines and pastures, profit on the mint, tax establishments (octroi, toll bars ?) in towns, storehouses, dues on salt pans and swamps, dues on the sale of perfumes. The item storehouses included rent of ground, mills, and rose-water factories. Most of these taxes were the same or nearly so in all provinces.[1] Makrízí gives a long list of dues that had to be paid in Egypt. Many brought in so little that they cannot have covered the cost of collection. Probably many of these existed from the earliest times.

Rabí‘a b. Shuraḥbíl was controller of these taxes in Egypt under ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣ and Zuraiḳ b. Ḥayyán in Ubulla under ‘Umar II. Anas b. Sírín was appointed to collect them in Ubulla but refused the post,[2] for " the pious of an earlier generation disapproved of them ". Perhaps this disapproval may be connected with a change in the meaning of the word *maks* (مكس). Originally it was quite general and meant tribute, tax. Later it was limited to certain special dues which were not mentioned in the Koran or Traditions, and were consequently looked at askance by all good Muslims.

‘Umar II is said to have abolished these dues.[3] This may be an anachronism ; still it may be true, for it is evident that taxes were levied which had no place in the legal system.

Manṣúr first started a tax on shops in A.H. 167, and in the same year the governor in Egypt—as part of the Caliph's policy—put a tax on stalls in the market and on animals.[4] A.H. 250 saw the introduction into Egypt of a monopoly of natron and dues on grazing and fishing. Though they brought in 100,000 dinars yearly Aḥmad b. Ṭúlún abolished them. They were introduced again under the Fáṭimids and were called *maks*. Saladin abolished them, but his son ‘Uthmán reintroduced them. We hear of some dues the abolition of which was opposed by the Copts. In A.H. 801 Balbaghá abolished the rent (assessment) of the Cattle Lake, but the Copts restored it. He also found that some dues in Egypt brought in about 70,000 dirhams daily, that the government got no profit from them, but that they profited the Copts and their servants. He proposed to do away with them, but did not succeed.[1] In A.H. 389 it was proposed to tax certain kinds of cloth made in Baghdád, but the opposition was so strong that the proposal had to be dropped.[2]

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[1] Ibn Ḥawḳal, 217.

[2] Maḳ. ii, 123.

[3] Maḳ. i, 103.

[4] Maḳ. i, 103. Kindí, 125.

Conclusions

The methods of exaction were not as severe as they might have been. Apparently the subjects were allowed considerable latitude in the payment of taxes, for there are frequent complaints in the papyri of delay in payment and other forms of slackness. 'Umar is said to have compelled the Nabaṭæans of Syria to give some of their fruits and chaff to the Muslims, but they were not forced to cart it for them.[3] At times relief was given. A Copt said to 'Amr, " If I lead you to a place whence ships go till they reach Mecca, will you release me and my family from tribute ? " 'Amr agreed.[4] When Barḳa was first conquered, no collector of tribute entered it ; they sent the money when it was due.[5] Mr. Bell's judgment is perhaps more severe.[6] " To sum up, while the evidence is not at present such as to justify very positive conclusions, it seems probable that the Arab government during the first century of the Hijra was on the whole efficient and not noticeably oppressive, but that the nature of the fiscal system (which, be it remembered, was inherited from the Byzantine Empire) tended to a constant increase in the burden of the tax-payers, and gave exceptional opportunity for the exactions of the subordinate officials."

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[1] Maḳ. i, 107.

[2] *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, iii, 336.

[3] Ibn 'Asákir, i, 179.

[4] Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 166.

[5] Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 171.

[6] *Greek Pap. in the British Museum*, iv, 51.

In later times the land tax was paid in instalments and this was probably the case from the first.[1] The poll tax seems to have been paid as a whole.

In Egypt the pensions and rations of the Arabs enrolled in the *díwán* and their families, repairs to the dykes, rations of the clerical staff, and the supply of corn for the Ḥijáz were provided out of the tribute; the balance was sent to the capital of the empire.[2]

It is to be noted that the Byzantine Empire levied land, corn, and poll taxes, and its officials when travelling received free entertainment. It is, at least, a curious coincidence that its senators paid a tax, the three grades of which were in the proportion of 4, 2, and 1.

The following conclusions are probable. The original terms made with the conquered places were almost forgotten. When remembered the historians interpreted them in the light of later conditions and so misunderstood them. The clearest example of this process is the words *kharáj* and *jizya*, which both meant tribute.

'Umar's settlement was not a homogeneous system, but varied from town to town, and was less comprehensive and thorough than historians make out.

The distinction between "capitulated" and "conquered" is a legal fiction. Within a few years of the conquest the Muslims treated the subject peoples much as they chose.

The original tribute was that paid to the preceding government; it may have been about 2 dínárs a head in the west.

The graded poll tax was first levied in Mesopotamia.

At first monks did not pay poll tax.

The subject peoples at first bore the whole weight of taxation; though it is not possible to decide how heavy that was. It certainly grew heavier, but then the dhimmís did not bear the whole weight; for the Muslims paid land tax, the religious taxes were paid into the treasury, and Muslims and dhimmís alike were liable to the other burdens.

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[1] Maḳ. i, 405.
[2] Maḳ. i, 79.

Later Developments

The poll tax became known later as *jawálí*. When Saladin conquered Jerusalem in A.H. 583 the Christians native to the town obtained permission to reside there by paying the poll tax.[1] In the middle of the third century the poll tax from Baghdád is given as 120,000 dirhams and again as 200,000.[2] That of Miṣr (Egypt or Cairo) was 130,000 dínárs in A.H. 587, and 11,400 in 816.[3] It was paid according to the lunar year.[4] In A.H. 682 it was paid in Muḥarram, having been postponed from Ramaḍán, the usual date.[5]

In A.H. 678 Saifu 'd-Dín Ḳaláwún abolished a tax of 1 dínár on the dhimmís over and above the poll tax which had been in existence eighteen years.[6] It was called *muḳarraru 'n-Naṣárá*.

Figures giving the totals for tribute are irritating in their fewness and vagueness.

Alexandria began by paying 18,000 dinars and in the reign of Hishám it paid 36,000. The prefect Menas extorted 32,056 pieces of gold—presumably dínárs—from the town. He was dismissed and his successor demanded only 22,000, the rightful sum.[7] The figure 60,000 dínárs, reached by assuming a population of 300,000 paying 2 dínárs a head, is obviously a fiction.

A number of totals are given for Egypt as a whole.

Date.		
19–25	2,000,000 dínárs.	'Amr governor.
26–35	4,000,000.	'Abdullah b. Sa'd governor.

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[1] Ibn Athír, year 583.
[2] Ibn Khurdádbeh, 125, 251.
[3] Maḳ. i, 107.
[4] Maḳ. i, 276.
[5] Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, iii, 39.
[6] Maḳ. i, 106. Quatremère, iii, 3.
[7] Bal. 223. John of Nikiou, 384.

Date.	
47–62	Surplus sent to Damascus 600,000. Maslama governor.
c. 107	4,000,000. ‘Abdullah b. Ḥabḥáb, finance minister, expenses 2,700,783 (tribute 2,723,783. Ibn Khurdádbeh).
c. 200	4,275,000. (2 dínárs on the feddán) Ma’mún caliph.
254	The tribute had sunk to 1,800,000 (the text has 800,000,000) but Aḥmad b. Ṭúlún raised it to 4,000,000.
358	3,400,000. Jawhar. (3,200,000. Ibn Ḥawkal.)
463	2,800,000.[1]

These figures are enough to show that the twelve millions attributed to ‘Amr and Usáma, and the fourteen millions given to ‘Abdullah b. Sa‘d are exaggerated.

Three figures are given for Ḥimṣ, 340,000, 218,000, and 118,000 dínárs. No argument can be based on them.[2] At the time of the conquest Barka paid 13,000 dínárs.[3] Ibn Khaldún’s tribute list gives it as 1,000,000.

Thus the tribute in Egypt grew smaller while the rate of land tax rose from 1 dínár the feddán to 7.

Occasional acts of grace on the part of the ruler are recorded. Thus Ma’mún was kind to the people of Edessa, and ordered all burdens and taxes to be removed from them. As it stands, this must be an exaggeration ; it may have been a temporary measure. He entered the great church and wondered at its beauty. He asked the metropolitan what its revenue was. The bishop said, “ By thy grace, O king, its wealth is great ; but also much of the income is spent in the burden of the taxes laid upon it.” Ma’mún then ordered that no tax should be levied on the inns, shops, baths, and mills (belonging to it) but only on gardens and agricultural land ; for he said that it was not right that anything with a roof should pay taxes.[4] This idea was not peculiar to Ma’mún, for two legal opinions have been preserved ; that if a Muslim or a dhimmí builds a shop on *kharáj* land, it pays no taxes, and if a Muslim settle on ownerless land and make a market, there is no tax on it.[1]

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[1] Maḳ. i, 79, 98. Bal. 216. Ibn Khurdádbeh, 83. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 108.

[2] Ibn Khurdádbeh, 76, 246, 251.

[3] Ibn ‘Abdu ’l-Ḥakam, 170.

[4] *Syr. Anon.*, ii, 23.

The Muslim year was lunar, so there were more calendar years than agricultural. Khálidu 'l-Ḳasrí stopped the intercalation in the Persian calendar. It has been noted already that the taxes of the solar year 88 were paid in A.H. 91. Apparently there was no systematic equalization of the two calendars, but from time to time a year was dropped. So in the time of Mutawakkil A.H. 241 was counted as 242 for the purpose of finance. A year was dropped at A.H. 278, at 499 two were dropped, another at 507, and two more at 565.

In the course of his reign Mu'taḍid shifted Nawrúz from 11 Ṣafar to 13 Rabí' II, which was 11 Ḥazírán.[2]

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[1] Bal. 448.

[2] Maḳ. i, 274–81.

Ibn Khurdādhbih on Musical Instruments

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

> " Abū'l-Qāsim 'Ubaidallāh [ibn 'Abdallāh] ibn Khurdādhbih [*c.* 820–912]. And [his grandfather] Khurdādhbih was a Magian who turned Muslim at the persuasion of the Barmakids. Abū'l-Qāsim became Director of the Posts and the Intelligence Department in the Province of 'Irāq 'Ajamī (Al-Jabal). And he was ' boon companion ' of Al-Mu'tamid and was intimate with him. And his books are : *On Liberal Education in Music* ; *The Generality of the Genealogies of the Persians and the* [*Arab*] *Immigrants* ; *The Routes and Kingdoms* ; *On Cookery* ; *On Entertainment and Musical Instruments* ; *On Wine* ; *On Setting Stars* ; and *On Boon Companions and Associates.*"—*AL-FIHRIST* (A.D. 988), p. 149.

IN an article written in 1926 on " Byzantine Musical Instruments in the Ninth Century " [1] I mentioned that one of the earliest extant accounts in Arabic of the musical instruments of the Arabs and their neighbours is contained in an oration delivered by Ibn Khurdādhbih before Al-Mu'tamid (870–93). The narration appears in the *Murūj al-dhahab* of Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *c.* 956). Both of these writers were competent, to some extent, to deal with the question in its general aspect, and for that reason the recital has an added interest. Ibn Khurdādhbih had been taught music by the famous Isḥāq al-Mauṣilī (767–850), who was his father's personal friend. By his books,[2] and by other means,[3] some historical details of music and musicians were preserved, and they have been cited by later writers. Some of this information has, however, been challenged more than once by the author of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, who censures Ibn Khurdādhbih for his mere conjectures, and for making statements without sufficient authority.[4] Yet it may be presumed that the details given by Al-Mas'ūdī on the authority of Ibn Khurdādhbih may be trusted. The former, who had the highest opinion of the latter,[5] would scarcely have quoted him at such length without reservations had he not approved. Al-Mas'ūdī was a great traveller and observer, and he had himself dealt with the music and musical instruments of the Arabs, Greeks, Byzantines, Syrians, Nabaṭæans, Indians, Persians, and others in his various works.[1] If Ibn Khurdādhbih had erred, "the *Imām* of the historians," as Ibn Khaldūn has called Al-Mas'ūdī, would assuredly have corrected him.

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[1] *JRAS*. 1925, p. 299 et seq.

[2] *Al-Aghānī*, i, 19 ; v, 3 ; vi, 16 ; viii, 13, 149, 162.

[3] *Al-Aghānī*, ix, 58 ; xix, 133 ; xxi, 249. For details see *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vi, Préface.

[4] It is only fair to say that Ibn Khurdādhbih is sometimes quoted at second hand in this work.

[5] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, i, 13.

Ibn Khurdādhbih was of Persian descent, his father was a Governor of Ṭabaristān, and he himself had been a government official in 'Irāq 'Ajamī. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that Ibn Khurdādhbih could speak from personal acquaintance so far as related to Iranian musical instruments at least. For his information concerning the music of other countries, we know that in some cases he depended on literary sources.[2] It is also probable that some of his *data* were obtained from the government archives at Sāmarrā or Baghdād, at the time that he was writing his work on *The Routes and Kingdoms* (*Al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*).

Ibn Khurdādhbih's oration on music has been edited in text and French translation by Barbier de Meynard in *Les Prairies d'or* (1861–77).[3] Notwithstanding the existence of this excellent work, I venture to suggest that a fresh text of Ibn Khurdādhbih's oration, based on other MSS., together with an adequate *apparatus criticus*, is eminently desirable. The need is all the more pressing since we now know, although it was hitherto unsuspected,[4] that his *Kitāb al-lahw wa'l-malāhī* (*On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*) is in existence.[5] I therefore take the opportunity to call attention to a MS. in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek in which there is a fragment on musical instruments obviously based on Ibn Khurdādhbih. This MS. (Pm. 173, fol. 1),[1] although a somewhat late copy (A.D. 1688), deserves attention on account of its variants from the MSS. used by Barbier de Meynard. For that reason I submit a translation of it:—

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[1] Ibid., ii, 322.

[2] He quotes a certain Fandurūs al-Rūmī, as well as writers on mathematics. Possibly, he also obtained information from Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir (d. 873).

[3] viii, 88–99. There are also two oriental texts at least, Būlāq (A.H. 1283) and Cairo (A.H. 1303).

[4] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, ii, 398.

[5] *Al-Hilāl*, xxviii, 214.

> "And it is said that the first to invent the *'ūd* (lute) was Lamak ibn Matūshalaḥ.[2] . . .[3] Then after that there were invented the *ṭubūl* (drums; sing. *ṭabl*) and the *duff* (tambourine). And Ḍalāl bint Lamak made the *ma'āzif* (instruments with open strings; sing. *mi'zaf*, *mi'zafa*, *'azf*). Then the people of Lūṭ (Sodom and Gomorrah) invented the *ṭanābīr* (pandores; sing. *ṭunbūr*) to charm the youth. Then the shepherd-folk and the Kurds invented different sorts [of instruments] to pipe (lit. "whistle," *ṣafara*) with, and when their cattle were dispersed they piped and they gathered together. Then the Persians invented the *diyānay* (? double reed-pipe) to [accompany] the *'ūd*; and the *suryānī* (reed-pipe, flute, flageolet) to [accompany] the *ṭabl*; and the *kabar* (single-headed drum) to [accompany] the *ṣanj* (harp).
>
> "And the *mathnā* [string of the *'ūd*] was double the ply of the *zīr* [string]; and the *mathlath* [string] was triple the ply of the *zīr* [string]; and the *bamm* [string] was quadruple the ply of the *zīr* [string].[4]
>
> "And the music (*ghinā'*) of the Persians was with *'īdān* (lutes; sing. *'ūd*) and *ṣunūj* (harps; sing. *ṣanj*). And they had music (*ghinā'*), notes (*nagham*), and rhythms (*īqā'āt*). And the music of the people of Khurāsān and

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[1] Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, No. 8502.

[2] The text has Malik instead of Lamak, and Matūshalaḥ, the same as Abū'l-Fidā'. Barbier de Meynard has Matūshalakh.

[3] Here follow details of the invention of the lute.

[4] As the translation is not quite literal I give the text:

وجعل المثنى ضعف الزير والمثلث ضعفا وزن الزير (الوزير text) والبمّ
ثلاثة اضعاف وزن الزير

their neighbours was with the *muwannaj* (a kind of harp), and upon it were seven strings. And its rhythm was like the rhythm of the *ṣanj*. And the music of the people of Al-Raiy, and Ṭabaristān, and Al-Dailam, was with the *ṭanābīr*. And the Persians preferred the *ṭunbūr* beyond all other musical instruments. And the music of the Nabaṭæans and Jarmaqs was with the *qundhūrāt* (sing. *qundhūra*), and their rhythm was like the rhythm of the *ṭanābīr*.

"And of musical instruments the Byzantines (Al-Rūm) had the *arghan*[1] (*ὄργανον πολύχορδον*), and upon it are twenty-six strings,[2] and it has a wide compass (صوت بعيد المذهب); and it is of the invention of the Ancient Greeks (Yūnāniyyūn); and also[3] [an instrument of] twenty-four strings, namely the *salbāq*[4] (*σαμβύκη*), and it [the word] is interpreted to mean 'a thousand voices'.[5] And to them [the Byzantines] is the *lūrā*[6] (*λύρα*), and it is the *rabāb* (rebec), and to it are five strings."

Some of the variations from the other texts are worthy of notice and comment.

Lamak ibn Matūshalaḥ is, of course, the Lamech ben Methusael of Gen. iv, 18. In Al-Mas'ūdī, Lamak's son Tūbal[7] is credited with the invention of the *ṭabl* and *duff*. Barbier de Meynard says that Ḍalāl is the Zillah of Gen. iv,[8] but the former is Lamak's daughter, and the latter is a wife.

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[1] The Cairo text has الاوعر.

[2] The Paris and Cairo texts say "sixteen strings".

[3] The text has ليها, but this interferes with the sense, and I have presumed that ايضا was written originally.

[4] The text has السلبسق.

[5] The text has العضوت which is meaningless in any translation of the diacritical point. The Cairo edition has الغصون. I have adopted Barbier de Meynard's reading الف صوت.

[6] The text has الوار, and the Cairo edition اللوزا, instead of اللورا.

[7] The Cairo text has موسك in place of Tūbal.

[8] *Prairies d'or*, viii, 417.

The invention of the *ṭunbūr* by the people of Lūṭ may be compared with an account elsewhere which credits it to the Sabæans as follows: "The pandore (*ṭunbūr*) came from the Sabæans who measured the earth, and so it was called the 'measured pandore'."[1] This agrees with the name of the instrument called the *ṭunbūr al-mīzānī* (measured *ṭunbūr*) mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (*c.* 980), which appears to have been an earlier name for the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī*.[2] Both these accounts of the origin of the *ṭunbūr* may have had a common origin with that related by Julius Pollux (second century A.D.).[3]

'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), in his *Sharḥ al-adwār*, holds the opinion that the instrument "invented" by the shepherd-folk and the Kurds was the *nāy safīd*, a name given to the flute.[4]

The words *diyānay* (دياني) and *suryānay* (سرياني) reopen an old discussion. These forms occur in Al-Mas'ūdī[5] and in the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* of Al-Fārābī (d. *c.* 950). As far back as 1840, Kosegarten suggested that the latter was intended for *surnāyī* (سرنايي), but he made no allusion to the structure of the former.[6] Barbier de Meynard boldly adopted *dūnāy* (دوناي) and *surnāy* (سرناي) in their stead in *Les Prairies d'or*, but gives no reason. Von Hammer had already registered such forms as *dūfāy*, *dūrāy*, and *dūsāy* (? *dūzāy*), all of which were evident malformations of *dūnāy*.[7] Land, in editing part of Al-Fārābī's treatise, pointed out that the three MSS. of this author at Leyden, Madrid, and Milan gave *diyānay*, but proposed *dūnāy* in its stead.[1] At the same time he inserted *surnāy* in the text in place of *suryānay* without comment, as though the form occurred in the MSS. Yet the fact is that in both the Leyden (Or. 651, fol. 79) and the Madrid (No. 602, fol. 67) MSS. the word is *suryānay*.[2] Indeed, if we accept the opinion of the author of the *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* (seventeenth century), the above would appear to have been the original form, and it was due to the fact that it was a Syrian instrument (*nāy rūmī*),[3] the word being derived apparently from *Suryā* (Syria) and *nay* or *nāy* (reed). The Syrians had long been noted for their "wood-wind" instruments.[4]

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[1] A MS. in the writer's possession.

[2] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237. Kosegarten, *Liber cantilenarum*, 91.

[3] *Onomasticon*, iv, 60.

[4] Nūr-i Osmānīye MS. (Constantinople), No. 3651. Quoted by Yekta Bey in Lavignac's *Ency. de la musique*, v, 2971. See also Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 79 v, and British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173 v.

[5] The Cairo text has *thānī* (ثاني) in place of *diyānay*.

[6] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 101, 104.

[7] Kiesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, 92. Cf. Land, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes* . . . , 1883, ii, p. 84.

In Barbier de Meynard's text the entire passage is different from the Berlin MS. In the former it runs :—

> "Then the Persians invented the *nāy* to [accompany] the *'ūd* ; and the *diyānay* to [accompany] the *ṭunbūr* ;[5] and the *suryānay* to [accompany] the *ṭabl* ; and the *sinj* to [accompany] the *ṣanj*."

A noteworthy variant in the Berlin MS. is the substitution of the *kabar* for the *sinj*. The latter word, which also appears in the Cairo text, probably stood for a cymbal. In the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico* we have the word *zinj* equated with *cinbalum* (*cymbalum*), and in the Maghrib to-day the *zunūj* (plur.) are metal castanets.[1] In the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century) *kabar* is equated with *chorus* in Psalm cl. In the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'* (twelfth–thirteenth century) the *kabar* is described as a drum (*ṭabl*).[2] Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282) is more precise in defining it as a drum with one "head" (lit. "face," *wajh*).[3]

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[1] Land, op. cit., ii, 163, 165. Cf. 84.

[2] The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Dieterici ed., ii, 311) give a plural *suryānāt* (سريانات), and in another place (ii, 305) we have *surtay* (سرتاى), a singular in the midst of a number of plurals. The former word is identical in both the Cairo (a diacritical point missing) and Bombay editions, although the latter word is written *surnāy*. The word is given as *surnāy* in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (p. 237), in the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā (India Office MS., fol. 173), and in the treatise of Al-Ḥusain ibn Zaila (British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235). Strange to say, both the Būlāq (xvi, 138) and Sāsī (xvi, 133) editions of the *Aghānī* refer to a *surnāb* (سرناب), and the word stands uncorrected in the *Taṣḥīḥ* issued in 1917.

[3] Rūm sometimes stood for Syria, as it was once part of the Byzantine Empire.

[4] Athēnaios, iv, 78.

[5] The Cairo text has طبلوت for طنبور.

The specification for the various thicknesses of the strings of the *'ūd* does not occur in any of the published texts of Al-Mas'ūdī, nor in the MSS. used by Barbier de Meynard apparently. The measures given in the Berlin MS. agree in substance with those formulated in a treatise which I have attributed to Al-Kindī (d. 874),[4] where the *zīr*, *mathnā*, *mathlath*, and *bamm* strings are made of one, two, three, and four strands (*ṭabaqāt*) respectively.[5] The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) are more exact, and compound these strings of 27, 36, 48, and 64 threads (*ṭāqa*) respectively.[6]

The *muwannaj* of the people of Khurāsān is of interest because in the printed texts the instrument is called the *zanj*. The latter word زنج might very well be a copyist's error for ونج (*wanaj* = *muwannaj*). The *wanaj* as a musical instrument with open strings, and practically identical with the *ṣanj*, is mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*.[7] It was certainly a stringed instrument in the time of Bar Bahlūl (*fl.* 963) the Syriac lexicographer.[8]

The *qundhūra* (قنذورة) of the Nabaṭæans and Jarmaqs is perhaps just as vague as the *ghīrwāra* (غيروارة) or

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[1] Beaussier, *Dict. pract. Arabe-Francais* (1882).

[2] Madrid MS., No. 603.

[3] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Būlāq ed., A.H. 1275), ii, 450.

[4] *JRAS.*, Jan., 1926, p. 92.

[5] Berlin MS., No. 5530 (Ahlwardt), fol. 25.

[6] Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay ed.), i, 98, 106.

[7] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237.

[8] Bodleian MS., Marsh 157, fol. 845. See also the *Lisān al-'arab* (thirteenth century), where the *wanaj* is said to be the *mizhar* or *'ūd*. The *Tāj al-'arūs* (eighteenth century) includes the *ṣanj* and *mi'zaf* as well.

'īrwāra (عيروارة) of the published texts. Barbier de Meynard thought that *kinnāra* (كنّارة) was intended,[1] and strangely enough we find that the Nabaṭæans of Palmyra had the *kinōrā*.[2]

So far the Berlin MS. In Al-Mas'ūdī's account of the oration of Ibn Khurdādhbih, many other instruments of music are introduced. To the Byzantines the following are ascribed in addition :—

> "The *qīthāra* (κιθάρα), with twelve strings ; the *ṣaltij* (ψάλτιγζ), of calves' skins. And all these are of the *ma'āzif* type (instruments with open strings) of diverse construction. And they [the Byzantines] had the *urghanun* (ὄργανον πνευματικόν), possessing bellows and iron-work." [3]

Ibn Khurdādhbih also includes some interesting information about the *'ūd* (lute). He says :—

> "Fandurūs al-Rūmī (Fandurūs the Byzantine) [4] says that the four strings [of the *'ūd*] correspond to the natures (humours). So the *zīr* corresponds to the yellow bile, and the *mathnā* to the blood, and the *mathlath* to the phlegm, and the *bamm* to the black bile."

This passage is worthy of attention because it differs from the system laid down by Al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. There is clearly a mistake in Al-Kindī, and it would appear to have been copied by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.[5]

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[1] Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) in his *Qāmūs* mentions a *qinnīn* which he likens to a *ṭunbūr*.

[2] *ZDMG*. xviii, 105. See *Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, ii, No. 268. Cf. *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, by Jaussen and Savignac, p. 217.

[3] Cf. *JRAS*., Jan. 1926, p. 92 et seq. Barbier de Meynard says that some MSS. give القشاوة and القتارة. The Cairo text also gives *urghanīn*. Barbier de Meynard prefers *ṣalinj* (*ṣilinj*) although three of the MSS. consulted by him gave الصليج. Probably the word should be الصلتج and it would thus be nearer the Byzantine Greek.

[4] Also قنذروس (Qandhurūs).

[5] The account of the natures, attributed to Ziryāb (ninth century) in Al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (*Analectes*, ii, 86, *Moh. Dyn.*, ii, 119), is probably

Ibn Khurdādhbih also contributes the following information concerning the structure and value of the *'ūd* :—

"According to most of the peoples and the majority of the savants, the *'ūd* is Greek [in origin]. It was constructed by the geometricians upon the form of the natures of man.[1] Then if the strings are in just relation to the celestial numbers (*al-aqdār al-sharīfa*) the natures are in agreement. Thus it creates an emotion, and the emotion restores the soul to its natural state at once. And each string is equal to the string next it plus a third.[2] And the fret (*dastān*)[3] which is nearest to the nut (*anf*) is placed on the point of one-ninth of the total string, and that which is nearest to the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*)[4] is placed on the point of one-fourth of the total string."

From this account we see that the *sabbāba* (first finger) fret on the *'ūd* was fixed at 204 *cents* (8 : 9), and the *khinṣir* (fourth finger) fret at 498 *cents* (3 : 4).

The question of the Greek origin of the lute is remarkable in view of the mythical foundation by Lamak the Semite. Further, Al-Mas'ūdī himself informs us in his *Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* that since Ptolemy (Baṭulmiyūs) does not mention the lute in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* it is obvious that the instrument was unknown to the Greeks at that time.[5] Indeed, Abū'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) places the invention of the *'ūd* in the days of the Persian monarch Shāpūr I (241–272).[6] Prior to

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the correct formula, although the "compounds" of the elements are obviously wrong.

[1] See my *Influence of Music ; from Arabic Sources* for a lengthy treatment of this question.

[2] This may refer to the thickness of the strings or to the *accordatura*.

[3] Barbier de Meynard's text has *dastabān* and the Cairo text الرسان, but *dastān* is intended, although the word is probably derived from the Persian *dast-band*.

[4] The *musht* on the lute served the double purpose of bridge and tailpiece.

[5] *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, viii. Ptolemy's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* (perhaps the *Harmonics*) is not recorded by either Wenrich or Steinschneider, but it was certainly known to the Arabs, and is also mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186) and Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 87.

[6] *Hist. Anteislam.*, 82.

the Ḥijāzian Arabs borrowing the 'Irāqian or Persian lute about the close of the sixth century, which is also told us by Ibn Khurdādhbih, they had a lute of their own called the *mizhar*.[1] This is alluded to by Ibn Khurdādhbih in another passage :—

> "The Indians have the *kankala* (كنكلة)[2] which has but one string stretched across a gourd. And it serves them in place of the lute or harp. . . . The Arabs used to call . . . the lute the *mizhar*. And the music of the people of Al-Yaman was with *ma'āzif*."[3]

Ibn Khurdādhbih also introduces an occasional paragraph on music in his book on *The Routes and Kingdoms*. On the sea route from India to China he describes an island called Barṭā'il in the Sea of Ṣanf, where we read of the *'azf* and *ṭubūl* resounding throughout the night.[4] In India we are told that there were seven castes (*ajnās*), the sixth and seventh having musicians among them. The former he calls the *Sandāliyya* (cf. چنڈال), and they were men of entertainment (*lahw*) and music (*luḥūn*; lit. "melodies"). The latter he names the *Dunbiyya* (cf. ڈومرا), who were men of entertainment, stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) and jesting (*la'ib*).[5] From Bukhāra he relates a charming story of a shepherd-lad who played on a stringed instrument (*watar*),[6] a *yarā'* (flageolet), and a *mizmār* (reed-pipe) in so enchanting a way that the naiads lured him away.[7]

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[1] *'Iqd al-farīd* (Cairo ed., A.H. 1305), iii, 186.

[2] The three MSS. consulted by Barbier de Meynard, as well as the Cairo text, have كنكة. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 864), however, gives *kankala* (*Majmū'āt rasā'il*, p. 80). Being a one-stringed instrument with a gourd sound-chest one is inclined to suggest that *yaktāra* (يكتارة) was intended.

[3] Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) also attributes the *mi'zaf* to the people of Al-Yaman (Lane, *Lexicon*). According to the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'* this instrument was used in the time of the Prophet.

[4] *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, vi, 68 of text.

[5] *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, vi, 71.

[6] Probably the *ṭunbūr* since it is referred to as having two strings.

[7] Ibid., vi, 181.

Confirmation of Endowments to Priests and Officials by Samsi-Adad V and his son Adad-Nirari III and by Sargon in the Reign of Sennacherib

By the late C. W. H. JOHNS, D.D., Litt.D., Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge

Foreword.—This article was written by Dr. Johns during the earlier years of the War, and left unfinished. On Professor Langdon's urgent advice it is now published as left by the author. The footnotes with one exception are by Professor Langdon, and any slight additions to the text are in square brackets.

A. S. Johns.

DR. JOHNS left among his papers a closely written and almost complete manuscript to which he had given no distinctive title. In looking over this manuscript I saw at once that he had copied and joined up K. 2800, Sm. 318, and K. 2655. At any rate, it is obvious that he would have made these joins, if he had been able to return to the British Museum, and would have seen that K. 2655 actually completes the copy of the last edict of Adad-nirari III on the obverse. A discovery of this kind is too important to remain in obscurity, and the discovery surely ought to go to the illustrious scholar who made it. There was only a transcription of the text in the manuscript, and after copying and joining up the three fragments I have given the author's edition with some notes to bring it up-to-date, as the author would undoubtedly have done better than myself. Moreover, Dr. Johns has also given an edition of his own text, K. 3042, in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents,* 1077, referring to ancient endowments by Shalmaneser, Tiglathpileser, Adad-nirari III, and Sargon, and confirmed by Sennacherib. This text has also remained unedited for many years. The manuscript, therefore, contained not only a new document of extraordinary importance, but the first edition of an equally important document, and the two texts throw much light upon the history of Assyria from Šamši-Adad III to Sennacherib.

The study does great credit to the late Master of St. Catharine's, and is also a well deserved tribute to the genius of George Smith, whose astonishing ability is again revealed. I should say that wherever Adad-nirari III appears in this article, the manuscript had Adad-nirari IV. It should be noted that the transcription was made by Dr. Johns from copies which I did not see, and consequently my copy does not always follow the transcription precisely. He was unable to revise his copy, but his transcription proves that it was remarkably accurate.

The composition of the great tablet partially represented by K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655 is a curious one. The present text represents about one-quarter of the whole tablet, that is the lower right part of the obverse and upper right part of the reverse. It was originally a huge single column tablet, and now that this part is joined up, the missing fragments will certainly be found and added to it in due time. But why should the scribe of Sennacherib edit the edicts of Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari on the obverse, and then give extracts from the campaigns of Sennacherib on the reverse? The confirmation of old endowments to priests and officials seems at first sight to have no relation to military campaigns. If the entire text were available the reason for this would be clear. At present a conjecture forces itself upon the student. Sennacherib directed certain ancient endowments to be conveyed to officials who had served him well in his campaigns. Parallels to this procedure are to be found in the history of Babylonia and the complete text will probably confirm this suggestion.

Mrs. Johns deserves the thanks of Assyriologists for bringing this important article to publicity. I have learned much from it myself, and gladly bestow upon it a labour due to the memory of a scholar whose services to Assyriology were admittedly great and indispensable.

S. LANGDON.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.
7th May, 1928.

§ A

In his Assyrian *Eponym Canon* (London, S. Bagster and Sons, 1875), p. 77 f., G. Smith said: "I have recently put together some considerations in favour of the accuracy of the canon, from three texts of Sennacherib. The first of these (which we will call Aa) is dated in the twenty-second year of Sennacherib, 684 B.C. This states that the tablet was copied from one which had been neglected and buried, and was found after 101 years. As this tablet belonged to Nebbi Yunus, the palace of which was built by Vulnirari III, and restored by Sennacherib about 693 B.C., it appeared probable that the tablets were found when the restoration of the palace commenced in 693 B.C., and they would then have been written in 794 B.C.; but for a long time I gained no clue in confirmation of this date, until I found a companion tablet (which we will call Ab) according to which Sennacherib restored the offerings and institutions made by Vulnirari, in the 'eponymy of Mannukiassur', that is 794 B.C.; and a third tablet (which we will call Ac) of the same period, related that various predecessors of Sennacherib had made offerings, and among the names mentioned are Samsivul, Vulnirari, Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon. The only date given in the tablet is again 794 B.C., and it states that Vulnirari had made the 'writings' and offerings in the eponymy of Mannukiassur. These incidental statements of the inscriptions and offerings of Vulnarari in 794 B.C., the finding of the tablets after 101 years, and the restoration of the offerings and palace of Vulnirari in 693 B.C., form a curious confirmation of the accuracy of the canon, but do not amount to a proof, as the connexion between the three statements of Sennacherib is not certain."

Apparently this section was written by G. Smith to combat the views of J. Oppert (and others) who desired to insert a more or less lengthy period somewhere before the Sargonid dynasty, which would, of course, be impossible if there were exactly 101 years between the eponymy of Mannukî-Aššur and the year 693. If the facts are all exactly as stated in the above section, even though not a proof as G. Smith admits, they certainly are a very strong presumption in favour of the absolute continuity of the eponym Canon from its commencement. Hence it seems worth while to examine them strictly. The names quoted are soon modernized. For Vulnarari III we should now read Adad-nirari III, for Mannukiassur, Mannu-kî-Aššur; for Samsival, Šamši-Adad V; the Assyrian equivalent of Tiglath-Pileser should be Tukultiapil-Ešarra and for Shalmaneser, Sulmanu-ašarid.

§ B

It will be at once noted that G. Smith does not here give the reference number or British Museum Class-mark of any of the three tablets. But on p. 81 of the *Eponym Canon* he does give some further information. There he says there are dates in three eponymes during the reign of Vulnirari III; the first, which is not a contemporary statement, is on two tablets of the time of Sennacherib; one, K. 2655, reads: "(*a*) The king had given in the month Tebet, in the eponymy of Mannukiassur. (*b*) . . . of Samsival and Vulnirari." The other reads: "The writings appointed and he the sacrifices gave in the eponymy of Mannukiassur, making of Vulnirari. . . . These statements refer to the eponymy 794 B.C." On p. 82 he gives the other two eponym dates of this reign known to him, but they need not concern us here, as the tablets bearing them, K. 310 (*ADD* 651) and K. 2827 (*ADD*. 653) do not refer to offerings, writings, sacrifices, or the building of the palace of Adad-nirari. They are contemporary documents, and have no reference to Sennacherib.

§ C

In the appendix, p. 205, of the *Eponym Canon*, G. Smith returns to the subject, thus: "I have found a large fragment K. 2800, belonging to one of the tablets mentioned in p. 77, and can now see that this text consisted of four columns of writing, the first part describing the eighth campaign of

Sennacherib; the latter part stating that he found an inscription of Vulnirari, a copy of which he gives. This inscription, copied in the time of Sennacherib, has the date in the eponym of Mannu-ki-assur. I am unable to confirm my suggestion as to the 101 years between this date and Sennacherib's discovery of the inscriptions, because I cannot fix the date of the eighth campaign, which may have happened as early as 696 B.C. or as late as 691 B.C., and the tablet shows no connexion with the fragment mentioning the 101 years."

This leaves the question distinctly less clear than the first section did, and demands close examination no less than that did. We may start with the statements of the first section.

Aa, the first tablet in section A, was "dated in the 22nd year of Sennacherib, 684 B.C." This in itself is distinctly interesting, as the latest dated historical inscription of Sennacherib is dated in his 15th year, 691 B.C., the well known "Taylor Cylinder". What were the inscriptions known to G. Smith to be dated in 684 B.C.? On pp. 90–1 of the *Eponym Canon*, under that date, he gives to the eponym Manzarnê, *šaknu* of Kullani, the dates on K. 2670, K. 1429, and an unnumbered tablet. Now, K. 2670 contains astrological forecasts and is published in full, III Rawlinson, Pl. 2, No. xxii.[1] The day is the 30th, the month Tebet, and in line 7 we read *ul-tu* 101 *šanâte*, and line 8 has *ú-kab-bir*, which may have suggested to G. Smith that it had been neglected and buried and was found after 101 years. The tablet, so far as now preserved, makes no reference whatever to a palace or to Adad-nirari. But G. Smith would know if it was found at Nebbi Yunus, and in his *Assyrian Discoveries* (London, S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1875), p. 89 and *passim*, he states that the works executed there by Layard and later by the Turkish Government "showed the existence of palaces" there, "the first built by Vulnirari (III), 812 B.C., the next by Sennacherib, 705 B.C., who after finishing his great palace on the Kouyunjik mound built a new one here late in his reign. From this building came the fine memorial cylinder with the account of the expedition against Hezekiah, King of Judah." By this description G. Smith probably means the Taylor Cylinder. These extracts show what was in his mind when he described Aa. It will be noted that he nowhere says that Aa names a palace or Adad-nirari III; but if K. 2670 was found in the palace of Sennacherib at Nebbi Yunus, as he states Aa was, he might well conclude it was found there at the conjectural restoration in 693 B.C., and so was written in 794 B.C.; and copied, as itself states, in 684 B.C. In his other references to Aa in §§ B and C, he says nothing inconsistent with its being K. 2670.

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[1] Cf. Weidner in *Babyloniaca* vi, 28.

It would perhaps be unsafe to insist that G. Smith could only have meant by his first tablet (Aa) one which expressly names Sennacherib's twenty-second year. He might have arrived at that date by some more or less valid line of argument. Nor can we insist that he only knew of three tablets dated in that year, those given on pp. 90–1 of the *Eponym Canon.* This would absolutely confine Aa to K. 2670; for K. 1427 (*ADD.* 20) is a private contract and the unnumbered tablet is certainly K. 337 (published III Rawlinson 47, No. 7, and *ADD.* 19) a duplicate of K. 1429. But the only other documents given by the *Catalogue* as dated in this year are Rm. 167 (*ADD* 230), Rm. 176 (*ADD.* 149), and 83-1-18, 405 (*ADD.* 142), which all came to the British Museum after G. Smith's death in 1876. Moreover, they are private contracts, and make no reference to any statement credited to the first tablet by G. Smith.

A small point may be noted here. In the *Eponym Canon*, p. 90, the date of K. 2670 is given as the 20th day, but the publication in III R. gives 30th and in his *History of Sennacherib*, p. 19, G. Smith corrected it to 30th. The *Catalogue*, p. 464, does not give the cuneiform of the date, as usual; but when I collated the text in 1895 I saw the three wedges of "thirty" quite clearly.

Further, we may note that in § A, G. Smith speaks of "the connexion between the three statements of Sennacherib" not being certain. No other tablet known to me could be supposed to make a statement about "101 years", unless it was K. 2670. But that is the statement not of Sennacherib himself but of Nabû-zuḳup-kên, the scribe of many astrological works mostly written at Kalah, some as Aššur, who occurs 716–684 B.C. He was the son of Marduk-šum-iḳîša and grandson of Gabbi-ilâni-êreš (or perhaps a more remote descendant), and in 684 B.C. father of Ištar-šum-êreš, for whose benefit K. 2670 was copied out. For the history of these people see Tallquist's *Assyrian Personal Names, passim.* The statement was made in 684 B.C., in the time of Sennacherib indeed, but it has no necessary connexion, as G. Smith finally saw (see *Eponym Canon*, p. 205, end of § C), with the interval between the finding of the tablets of Adad-nirari and the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Aššur. The tablet K. 2670 is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery* for 1883, p. 167, No. 4. Whether it really was found at Nebbi Yunus may be doubted.

We now turn to the companion tablet Ab of § A. This was in some sense a tablet of Sennacherib. A comparison with § B makes it probable that it is K. 2655, which on one side preserves part of a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder, col. v, 51–62, see *Catalogue*, p. 463, where, however, no mention is made of the record which G. Smith quotes in § B and (*a*) and (*b*). But in 1895 I certainly copied on the reverse [1] the words *šarru* (*LUGAL*) *id-du-nu araḫ AB li-mu Man-nu-ki-Aššur* [2] and in the next line, *ša Šam-ši-Adad Adad-nirari*,[3] and in the next line again *amêl nagir êkalli û Marduk-bêl* . . . followed by *im-nu-ú-ma*. This completely substantiates what G. Smith wrote of K. 2655 in § B. When in § C he says of K. 2800 that it belongs to one of the tablets mentioned in p. 77 (see

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[1] This in reality the obverse, see copy, Obv. 33.

[2] Nothing now remains of this name on K. 2655, and *LUGAL* at the beginning has now disappeared.

[3] The signs *ṢAB-GAB* = *nirari* are possible at end of Obv. 34.

§ A), it clearly does not belong to the first tablet, Aa, whether that be K. 2670 or not, because he says of the text to which both belong that the first part describes the eighth campaign of Sennacherib and the latter part states that he found an inscription of Vulnirari. This is not consistent with what he says of Aa, but is consistent with what he says of Ab. G. Smith does not say the fragments join. Evidently they do not. The *Catalogue*, p. 477, while it refers to *Eponym Canon*, p. 205, does not point out that one side of K. 2800, that with fifteen lines, is a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder, though this could be deduced from § C, but when I copied K. 2800 in 1895, I noted that it joined Sm. 318 which the *Catalogue*, p. 1308, does not indicate as a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder. Nor does the *Catalogue*, p. 1690, give either K. 2800 nor Sm. 318 among the duplicates of 55–10–3, 1. But the obverse[1] of K. 2655 gives fragments of col. v, 51–62 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318 of v, 83–vi, 25.[2] Hence, about twenty-one lines of the Taylor Cylinder text are lost between K. 2655 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318. It is clear that G. Smith had not discovered the significance of Sm. 318 when he wrote his *Eponym Canon*.

Finally we can unquestionably identify the third tablet Ac of § A with K. 3042 published in *ADD*. 1077. The *Catalogue*, p. 498, calls it "list of articles of tribute (?), animals, corn, meat, wine, etc." "Mentions Šulmanu-(ašarid); Tukulti-apil-(Ešarra); Sargon, Adad-nirari, the son of Šamši-Adad; the eponymy (*lim-mu*) of Mannu-kî-Aššur, i.e. 795 (?) B.C., and the city of *âlu* Ṣi-mir-ra, etc." But it gives no reference to the *Eponym Canon*. G. Smith, however, p. 81, though he does not quote it as K. 3042, clearly means the same tablet as Ac, on p. 77, and his quotations from it leave no doubt possible as to its identity. The predecessors of Sennacherib, whom he calls Samsival, Vulnirari, Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon are the same as the *Catalogue* gives; no more and no less. It is, however, difficult to see what he took to be the "writings" on p. 77, at any rate, the text has no mention of any. The "Offerings" in the eponymy of Mannukiaššur probably are the *Lu-MEŠ* properly *ṣênê* "sheep", but often used for *niḳê* in the general sense of offerings or sacrifices in historical texts. These occur *ADD.* 1077, col. viii, l. 9, where we read *šû* "he" (which G. Smith evidently referred to Adad-nirari named in line 3) *LU-MEŠ idan*, followed by the eponymy. On p. 81 he quotes "the writings appointed", which looks like an attempt to render *amêl ráb kakulat ipkidûni*, for *pakâdu* does mean "appoint" in some cases. Here he renders *šû LU-MEŠ idan* by "he the sacrifices gave", but in line 11 he renders *napḫar šá Adadnirari* by "making of Vulnirari". Of course, it means "all from Adadnirari", indicating, as in line 3, where the same phrase occurs, that all the benefactions listed above were given by Adad-nirari III, son of Šamši-Adad.

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[1] In reality the reverse. See Rev. 1–9.

[2] See Rev. 20–38.

We now have satisfactorily identified the tablets mentioned by G. Smith in A, B, C, namely his first tablet Aa is K. 2670, the companion tablet Ab is K. 2655 (which, with K. 2800 + Sm. 318 once formed a large four [1] columned tablet), the third tablet Ac is K. 3042. Of these, the first and third are completely known. Unfortunately in 1895 I had no further interest in K. 2655 than to ascertain that it was not a "contract" tablet, and I copied nothing beyond what I have already quoted above. I am not sure that a further examination might not give us further hints as to the endowments referred to by Sennacherib. This it is not possible for me to give during the war. Nor is my copy of K. 2800 + Sm. 318 sufficiently careful to form a final edition, but subject to all reserve for future collation, it contains enough of interest to justify publication.

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[1] I have joined up the three tablets and am of the opinion that there was only *one* column on each face. The break on the left side is beyond the iddle of the tablet. [S. L.]

The position which the study of these tablets reveals so far as I can carry it, may be set out first. Sennacherib, some time after the conclusion of his eighth campaign, i.e. after 691 B.C., built a palace on the Nebi Yunus mound. This had been partly occupied by a palace of Adad-nirari III. In doing this he discovered, probably, some inscriptions of that king and perhaps of his predecessors. These recorded certain endowments of the temples in Nineveh which had been made by earlier kings and either renewed or augmented by Shalmanasar, Tiglath-pileser, and Sargon. These may have consisted in lands which Sennacherib wished to appropriate and felt obliged to replace by some equivalent. But K. 3042, so far as now preserved, only mentions revenues in food and drink, apparently due from certain officials to the temples. Apparently he contented himself with confirming the settlements with respect to these revenues made by his predecessors. At any rate, K. 3042 no longer indicates that he added anything to them. The references to the earlier endowments in the copies which he gives in K. 2655 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318 merely recite the old "writings". The recognition of further fragments of the text to which these fragments belong may some day complete our knowledge of what Sennacherib did. The sort of fragments required must be tablets, not prisms or cylinders. They should bear on one side further extracts, duplicates more or less of the Taylor Cylinder.[1] It is by no means certain that they would even indicate Sennacherib as the king whose inscription they are.

Transliteration of my copy of K. 2800 + *Sm.* 318

Obverse: Duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder text, with variants.[2]

Col. v: l. 83, (*dâmu u rûtu*[3] *it -muk*) *iṣu ma-gar-r*(*u-uš*); 84, (*pagri ḳuradišunu kima urkiti*); 85, *ú-mal-la-a ṣi-*(*ra sapsapate unakisma*). Col. vi: 1, (*balṭašun abût kima bini*

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[1] The extracts from the Taylor Cylinder are given on the *reverse.*

[2] See also the duplicate in Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 46, 8 ff.

[3] Read *pir-šu ri-it-mu-ku.* See Luckenbill, ibid., 46, 9.

kiš-š)e-e[1]; 2, *ú-na-kis rit-ti-*(*šun*); 3, (*šemirê? aṣpi ḫurâṣi KI-RIS ibbi ša ritti-*) *šu-nu am-ḫur*; 4, (*ina namṣari zaḳtuti ḫuzannišu*)-*nu ú-pa* (*r-riʾ*); 5, (*paṭri šibbi ḫurâṣi kaspi ša ḳabli-*) *šunu e-*(*kim*); 6, (*sitti amêlûti rabûtišu adi Nabû-šum-*) *iš-kun*; 7, *mâr Mardúk-*(*apil-iddin ša lapân taḫazî-ia*); 8, (*iplaḫu*) *id-ku-ú idâ-*(*šun balṭusun*); 9, (*ina ḳabal tamḫari itmuḫa*)-*ma idâ-*(*ai iṣu narkabâti*); 10, *adi imêr ŠUḪUB-MEŠ-*(*šina ša ina kitrub* . . .); 17, (*zarâtešun*)[2] *u-maš-ši-rú-*(*ma*); 18, *ana šuzub napšātišun*) *amêlu*[3] *ú-da-i-šu*; 19, *e-*(*teḳu kî ša admi iṣṣuri kuššudi itarraku*) *libbê* (*šun*); 20, (*šinātešūn uṣarapu kirib narkabâtešun*; 21, *u-maš-ši-ra-ni* (*zû-šun ana radādišun*); 22, (*narkabâte sîsê-ia*) *ú-ma* (*ʿir*). . . .

In restoring the above text I have used the transcription of the Taylor Cylinder given in *KB*. ii, pp. 108–110. I do not feel sure that this tablet originally gave all the same text as in the Taylor Cylinder. In fact, assuming that all the lines of our text were of the same length and not sometimes more widely spaced than at others, it is difficult to suppose that the text was not more condensed. It is certain that it omitted lines 11–16 of the Taylor Cylinder. But obviously it is impossible to conjecture how the condensation was effected.

There are traces of a line or two before what corresponds to line 83 of the col. of the cylinder, of which I read *i* and *rú* in what should correspond to line 82, but I fail to see to what words of the Taylor text they correspond. The first certain line of our text gives *muk* as its first sign, evidently the end of [*r*]*itmuk* as a variant for [*r*]*itmuku*. The occurrence of the determinative *iṣu* before *magarruš* in our text confirms the meaning of *magarru* as a " wheel ". This may be derived from *garâru* " to run ", as G. R. Berry, *Hebraica*, xi, p. 190, derived *mugirru*, for which see *iṣu mugirri ABL*. 355, r. 14; *ḫirṣi*

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[1] The text omits *si-ma-ni*.

[2] The space does not permit the full text of the cylinder. It surely read *kitrub taḫazi umašširu* and omitted *ša* in line 10.

[3] The sign is Br. 4251 with inserted ►—◄, written Br. 4243 + KAN. See Thureau-Dangin, *REC*., 292; Meisner, *SAI*., p. 155 note. Read *pagrê*.

mugirri ABL. 80, r. 10, *iṣu mugir ABL.* 620, 8, and for *magarru* see *tibiḫ ma-ga-ar-ri, ABL.* 74, r. 3. In Gautier's *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat,* No. lxvi, l. 5, we have 5 *ma-ga-ar-rum.* We may also compare *ADD.* 822, 7, for *naggar mugirri* and *ADD.* 50, 3, for *PIN mugirri.* I do not at present see the difference between *magarru* and *mugirru*, and some sort of " chariot " or " wagon " would suit some passages as well as " wheel ". One may perhaps regard *magarru* as a Semitic form from the *MÁ-GAR-RA* which occurs in King's *Letters of Hammurabi,* vol. iii, p. 6, No. xxxiv, l. 16, which Delitzsch, *BAS.* iv, 482, makes out to be " *Schiffsvorrat* ", taking it from *MÁ* " ship " and *GAR* = *akâlu.* But ideograms like *MÁ*- . . . rendered *maturru* came to mean some vehicle used on land, like our word " ark ", compare our use of " boat " for a costermonger's barrow.

Now begins the difficult question of what is missing. What I will call, for convenience, line 3 of our text preserves at the end of the first part of *ru*, but not *uš*. Nothing of line 84 is left on our table, but as the next line gives *umallâ ṣi*(*ra*) from line 85, and as it seems probable that line 3 of our text once ended with *ruš,* we may provisionally suppose that one line of our text answered to all line 84 and *umallâ ṣirâ.* Now our fifth line preserves (*kiš*)-*še-e u-nakiš rit-ti*-(*šunu*), corresponding to the last syllable of vi, 1, and all of vi, 2, and must have had what corresponded to *sapsapate unakisma* of v. 85. Some condensation of the Taylor text is probable here. I have conjecturally met this by omitting *simâni.* Naturally we cannot be sure of this. Condensation may have been effected by the use of ideograms, perhaps one for *sapsapate.* In view of this difficulty, we must all along remember that our restorations from the Taylor text may be fuller than the original.

I shall now confine myself to the variants actually exhibited. Our text nowhere shows the fragment *šu-un* of the Taylor texts, but gives *šu-nu* instead: for Taylor's *ḳatišun* it clearly had *ritti* (*šunu*), though it no longer preserves *šunu.* Line 3 of our text gives *šu-nu*, as does Taylor vi, 3. Line 8 of our text gives *ID*-2 for Taylor's *i-da* vi, 8. Our line 10 replaces the *sisê* of Taylor vi, 10 by *innêr ŠUḪUB-MEŠ ŠUḪUB* (if that is how the ideogram is to be read). Br. 10864, is explained by the Yale Syllabary, 298, as *parû*, with a reading ending in *gi*; so not to be read *ŠUḪUB* really. For the word *parû*, see Delitzsch, *HWB.*, p. 539. It is known from the historical monuments, but whether "mule" is an exact rendering may be doubted. The next line of our text, 17, preserves the end of Taylor vi, 17. In our line 18 the sign which precedes the *údāišu* ending, Taylor vi, 18, appears to be *amêlu*.[1] Possibly this points to a variant text unless *amêlu* is meant to replace *ummanatešunu*. Line 21 of our text is clearly identical with Taylor vi, 21. On line 22 was clearly *uma'ir* of Taylor vi, 22. I cannot recognize the traces left of the next three lines of our text as repeating any part of the Taylor text. But some variant of it may have really been there; or the account here given of Sennacherib's buildings may have begun.

Transcription of K. 2800 + *Sm.* 318 [+ K. 2655]

Reverse

1. . . . *šer HAR-MEŠ* . . .
2. . . . *MEŠ BAR KU* (?) . . .
3. . . . (?) *TUR-MEŠ ŠAL SUḪU*(*R-LAL-MEŠ*) . . .
4. . . . (*ginu*)-*ú ša amêl šangû* . . .
5. . . . *mât* (?) *Aš-šur-ki ú-zak-ki* . . .
6. . . . *ša eli ŠAL SUḪUR-LAL-MEŠ ID* (?) . . .
7. . . . *ina êkalli i-da-an.* Here follows a blank space of two lines.
8. . . . *LUGAL mât Aš-šur-ki mâr Šam-ši-Adad šarru kiššati* . . .
9. . . . *LUGAL kiš-ša-ti LUGAL mât Aš-*(*sur-ki*) . . .
10. . . . *šá bît ilu VII-bi ša bît GAD-mu-*(*ri*) . . .

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[1] Sign *RAB-GAN* + *BAD* = *pagru*. See King, *Magic*, 2, 22; V Raw., 46, 28, Ancient sign, Thureau-Dangin, *REC.*, 291. A variant is *LU* + *BADe* Sumerian value *ad* = *pagru*, Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, 273, and *Yal. Syllabary*, 166.

11. . . . *šá EN-ZI-ZI am-mar ir-ra-še-pa* . . .
12. . . . *MEŠ šá bît GAD-mu-ri C šá bît ilu PA* . . .
13. . . . *ilu e-ki C šá EN-ZI-*(*ZI*) . . .
14. . . . *AN-BAR-MEŠ šá amêl mutîr pu-t e šá amêl su-*(*kal*) [1] *rabû šá GAD* . . .
15. . . . *mârê Ninûa-ki LXXX šá âli* . . .
16. . . . *ú šá kak-ti AN-BAR-MEŠ nâgir êkalli i-mah-*(*ḫar*) . . .
17. . . . *šá a a-la-te šá ilu XV il-ku-šu la-bi-*(*ru*) . . .
18. . . . *šá ali Ni-nu-u-a-ki id-da-*(*an*) . . .
19. . . . *ina šatti-šu a-na êkalli id-da-*(*an*) . . .
20. . . . (?)-*šu a-na gi-ni-e id-da-*(*an*) . . .
21. . . . *bît ilâni amêl nâgir êkalli-ma id-da-*(*an*) . . .
22. . . . *i* (?)-*ṣa-du šá ilu XV GAD* (?)- . . .
23. . . . *ŠAL SUHUR-LAL AN-AN GIŠ ERIN* . . .

There follows a space of two or three lines, blank.

24. . . . *mâr Šam-ši-Adad PA-*(*LUM*) . . .
25. . . . *a-ša-rid* *PA-*(*LUM*) . . .
26. . . . *šu* (?) *šá bît e-ḳi šá ir-rap-še* (?) . . .
27. . . . *êkalli i-mah-har*
28. . . . *na* (?) *erî* [*i- maḫ-ḫar*]
29. . . . *še-ri* [*i-maḫ-ḫar*] [2]

The lines are possibly only about half-preserved. I cannot restore the left-hand portions with certainty in any case. In line 24 we may be sure that the name of Adad-nirari began the line, but what titles were before his designation as son of Šam-si-Adad one cannot say. Analogy with other inscriptions of his, e.g. *ADD*. 651–656, 808, lead us to expect *šarru* (probably written *LUGAL* as in line 8) *mât Aššur* (*ki*) and the addition of *PA-LUM* after his father's and his grandfather's name, in lines 24 and 25 with the analogy of *ADD*. 651, leads us to expect *PA-LUM* before *mâr*. We do not know how his name was written here (for the possible writings see

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[1] I copied *amel* . . . *ekalli* here. [S. L.]

[2] Here Dr. Johns did not complete the text by adding the new join, K. 2655. See obv. 27–36.

APN., p. 10), but we may, comparing what line 25 must have had (*mâr Šul-ma-nu*) conclude that we have about half the line preserved. At the end not more than one or two characters can be lost, as what we have reaches nearly to the edge of the tablet. The signs are spaced out more in some lines than in others, and something may have been written over on to the right-hand edge.

In the first line the ideogram *UZU-Ḫ̮AR* is given by *ZA.* xxx, p. 294, l. 16, as *mîri*, with a reading *muru* for *Ḫ̮AR*. The *mîru* is some part of the body of man or animal, and here we probably have to do with some joint of meat forming a sacrificial offering to the gods. Of similar flesh offerings we have a great many examples in *ADD.* and in the many texts relating to the endowments of temples.

For line 2 I can suggest no tolerable restoration.

In line 3 the *TUR-MEŠ* may indicate the plural of an ideogram ending in *TUR*, (*BANDA* ?) or may have to be read *mârê*. For the ideogram *ŠAL SUḪ̮UR-LAL*, which comes again in line 6 and perhaps in line 23, the sign-lists give no equivalent. But Br. 8620 gives *SUḪ̮UR-LAL* as *ziḳnatu*, and *HWB.*, p. 260*b*, would connect this with either *badulu*, p. 167, or *šartu*, p. 636*b*, but in neither case suggests a meaning likely to suit here. Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 49*a*, thinks *badulu* may be for *batulu* "youth". If so, *SAL SUḪ̮UR-LAL* might be for *batultu* "maiden". The *batulâte* would be in place in connexion with the *bît Kidmûri*, or temple of Ištar in Nineveh. *SAI.*, 6529, restores from K. 9961 (*CT.* xix, 2), line 14, *SUḪ̮UR-LAL* as *kimmatu* and line 16, *SUḪ̮UR-LAL* as *kimmat kit-*(*mumu*), but pointing out that these restorations are uncertain. When I copied K. 9961 I thought I saw *kid-mu-ú-*(*ri* ?) in line 16.[1] This may be a mistake of mine or the signs may have disappeared since.

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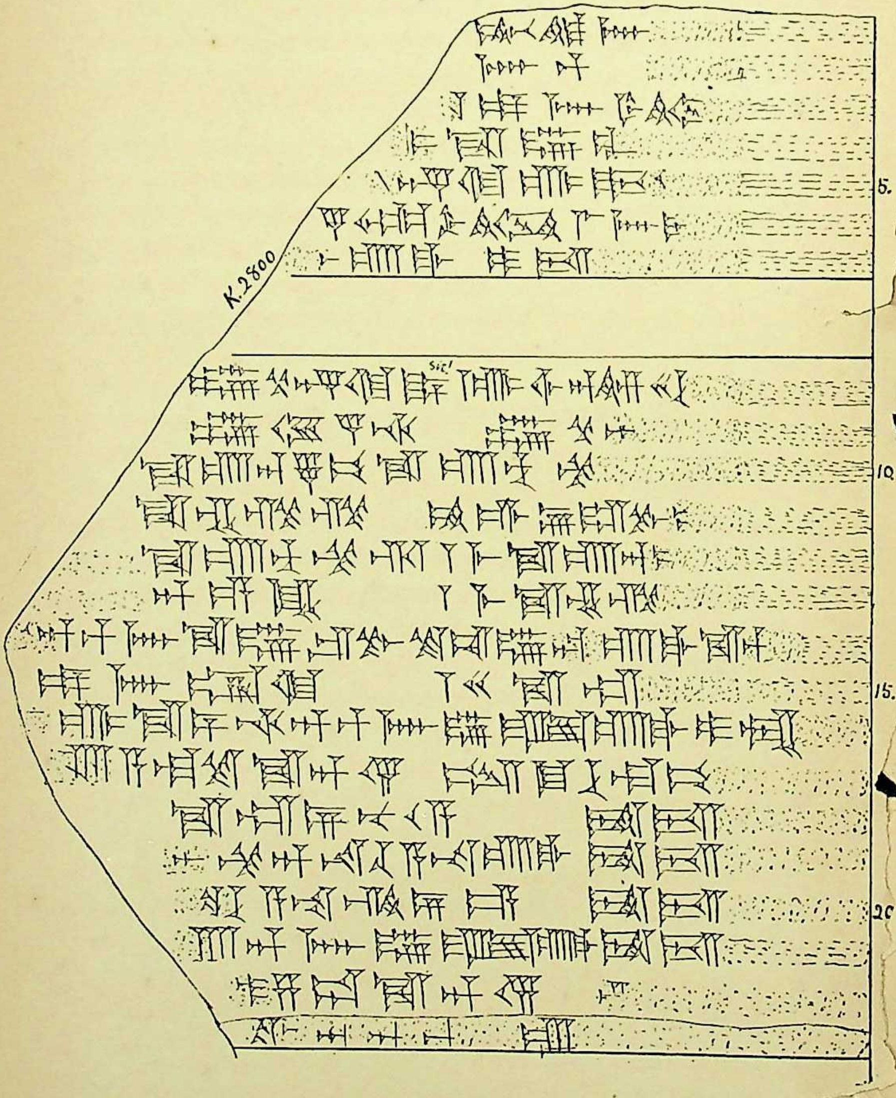
[1] But see *RA.*, xiv, 8, 51. *kimmatu* is now known to mean "hair of the head". Since *sū-lal* = *ziḳnu* "beard", and *suǵur-lal* = *ziḳnatu*, and *mes-sū-lal* = *badulu* "youth" (*RA.*, xiv, 85, 15), *sal suǵur-lal* may well = *batultu*.

K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Obverse



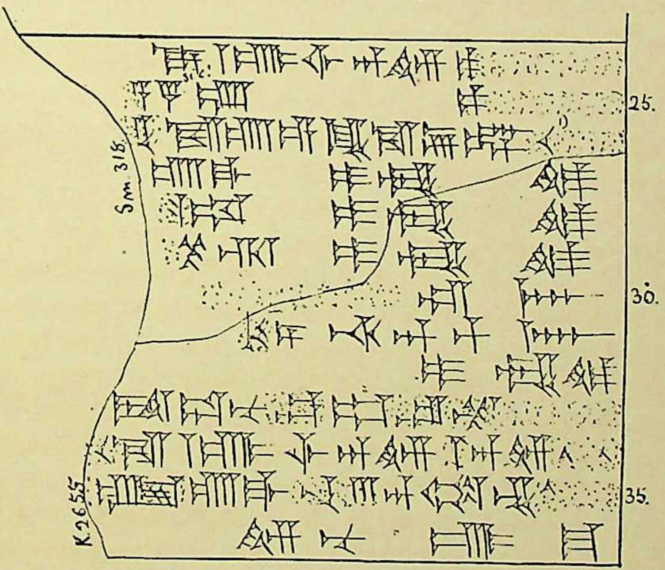
K. 2800
sic!
5.
10
15.
20

These ladies may well have been regarded as associates of Ištar, and at any rate they appear to be beneficiaries under the edict.

In line 4 we almost certainly have a reference to the *ginû* or fixed maintenance of the priest. In K. 3042, *ADD.* 1077, which is so closely connected with the endowments here given, we have reference to the allowance for the priest of Nabû, viii, 28, and for the priest of Gula, viii, 30 ff.

K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Obverse (continued).



[1] Nothing missing at end of line.

In line 5 the name of a king may be conjectured before *mât Aššur*. The term *uzakki* is usual of the action by which a monarch set free from all state dues, property, or estate, held as endowment or by royal grant. It so commonly accompanied the grant of lands that we may conjecture that this edict gave lands to the temple whose produce was to form its endowment.

The text does not enable us to say whether the benefactor was Adad-nirari or one of his predecessors.

But in line 8, we can hardly suppose the king of Assyria, who is said to be son of Šamši-Adad and probably grandson of Shalmaneser, to be other than Adad-nirari III. Here we have welcome information as to the temples benefited.

The first temple names on the part preserved is that of the god Sibitti. For the name and functions of this god see Deimel's *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 233, and the *Literature* there. See also Jastrow, *Die Religion, passim.*[1] Sennacherib frequently names this god. He had a temple in Kar-Nergal. But which was his temple in Nineveh is not clear yet. Perhaps he only had a chapel in *bît Kidmûri.*

Beside the spellings of *Kidmûri* registered by Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 159, see *HWB.*, p. 318, Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 372.

In line 11 the compound *EN-ZI-ZI* seems to be parallel to a divine name or perhaps a temple name. It does not appear to be explained by the usual sign-lists. A meaning like *bêl napšâte* " Lord of Life " might well be an epithet of some god, but is not the necessary meaning, if here used as an ideogram. It occurs also at the end of line 13, where it seems to be parallel to a temple-name.

In the same line *irrašepa* [2] could be from *rašâpu*, a verb not given in the lexicons, but possibly a by-form of *rasâpu*, perhaps with the meaning " to fall ".

In line 13 the sign *ilu* is clearly there, but may be the end of a word, *pa-an*, for example.[3] However, in line 26 we have *bît e-ḳi*, which seems to be a temple-name, so that *ilu-e-ḳi* may be the name of a god.

The name *e-ḳi* occurs in a list of gods and temple-names published by Scheil, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, vol. xiv (1917),

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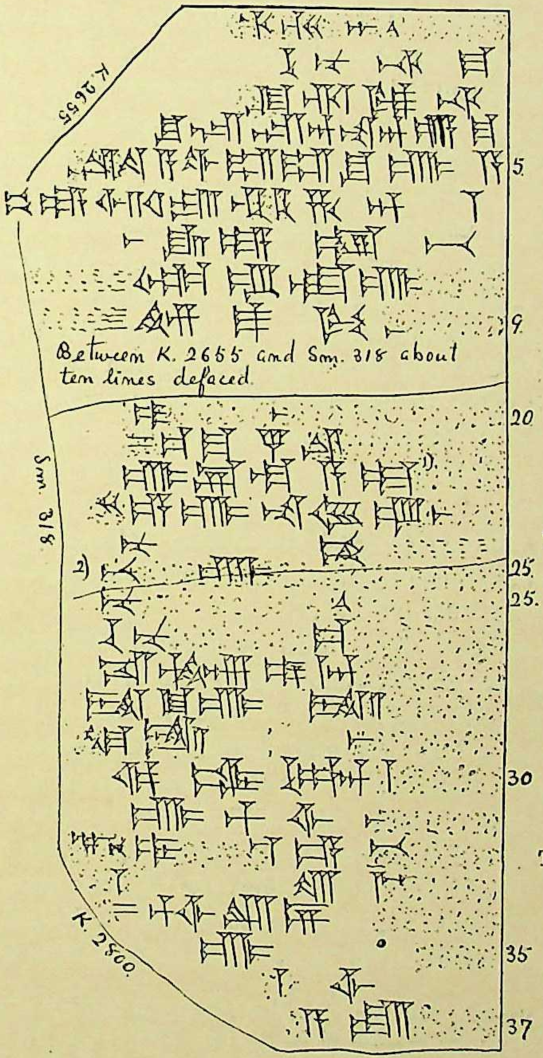
[1] See now C. F. Jean, *RA.*, xxi, 93–104 (1924). The " Seven gods " are the Pleiades.

[2] The text has *ir-ra-bu*, i.e. " as much as shall come in ".

[3] Certainly to be restored ^{d}*NIN-PA-AN*, i.e. ^{ilat}*Bêlit-parṣi*, mentioned by *Šamši-. Adad V* and *Adad-nirari III*, *AKF.*, i, 41.

K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Reverse


K. 2655
5
9
Between K. 2655 and Sm. 318 about ten lines defaced
20
Sm. 318
1)
2)
25
25
30
35
K. 2800
37

Taylor Cyl. v, 62.

Taylor Cyl. v, 83.

Taylor Cyl. vi, 4.

Taylor Cyl. vi, 6.

Taylor Cyl. vi, 19.

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[1] ṣi-[ri], Var. EDIN.

[2] Line in break is copied twice.

p. 171 f., col. ii, l. 3, *ilu bêlit* (or *šarrat*) *e-ḳi*, but whether the text means that this goddess is Aruru is not clear.[1] But as Ištar is often called *ilu bêlit* (or *šarrat*) *Kidmûri*, there is some reason to expect *e-ḳi* to be a temple-name, if not a by-name of *Kidmûri*. Our context, however, names *Kidmûri* in the line above, and Scheil's text does suggest Aruru, while the temples are separated by the temple of Navû, probably. Now, in K. 3042, viii, 28–30 (*ADD.* 1077), so closely connected with our text, the temple of Nabû is followed by a reference to the goddess Gula. Perhaps Aruru is in some aspects the same as Gula. In Scheil, ibid., col. ii, l. 6, the gods among whom *šarrat-e-ḳi* occurs are part of the seventeen gods of the temple of Ištar Aššurîtun. In line 9, another (?) *bêlit e-ḳi* is reckoned among the six gods of the temple of Nin-êkal. Further, in line 16, yet another *bêlit e-ḳi* is reckoned among the sixteen gods of another temple and apparently of *bît Kidmûri*. Scheil suggests that *šarrat-e-ḳi* is a name of Ištar equal to *bêlit terti*.

That the temple at end of line 12 is that of Nabû and not of Nusku is rendered likely by the mention of the temple of Nabû in K. 3042, viii, 28.

In line 14 *AN-BAR* might be taken as the ideogram for Ninurta, but then a plural sign is difficult to explain. The occurrence of *KAK-ti AN-BAR-MEŠ* in line 16 suggests that we have here the same expression. The ideogram *KAK-ti* may be read *sikkat ṣili* when it is part of the body, see *ZA.*, xxx, p. 294, line 3, and *SAI.*, 3617, gives references to Boissier, *Divination*, where it appears to be some part of a sacrificial omen. But I imagine that while *sikkat TI* may mean the bolt of a rib, which can hardly be made of iron, *AN-BAR*, *parzilli*, we could imagine the use of iron stays or ribs in temple restorations. Or, as *KAK* by itself may mean *sikkatu*, *KAK-ti* may be a writing of *sikkati* as plural. We would then have bolts of iron which also are appropriate to a restoration.

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[1] See also Schroeder, *KAV.*, 42, ii, 33, ^{ilu}*KASKAL* ? *e-ḳi* of the temple of ^{d}*Ninegal*; l. 36, ^{ilat}*Ishtar ša bit e-ḳi*; ibid., 43 obv. ii, 13, ^{ilat}*Bêlit-e-ḳi* of the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh. Read *KAV.*, 42, ii, 33, *gašan* = *bêlit*, for *kaskal* ? For *Ishtar ša bit e-ḳi*, 42 ii, 36, var. *RA.*, xiv, 172, ii, 14, has *KI-NAD* (= *mai̯alu*) "bed-chamber." See also Schroeder in *AKF.*, i, 41. *RA.*, xiv, 172, ii, 16, ^{ilat}*Bêlit-e-ki* = var. *e-ḳi*, *KAV.*, 42, ii, 38.

In line 14, when we read *šá mutîr pûte* we need not render "of" the *mutîr pûte*. The word *šá* may be the relative pronoun, "which" the *mutîr pûte* gave (understood). It may have been the duty of the *mutîr pûte* of the *sukallu* (of the palace or temple) under the terms of the old endowment to provide iron bolts or stays when needed for a restoration. Or it may have been a personal free gift on this occasion, perhaps even a restitution.

The signs at the end of line 14 are not very clear, *su* is I think, certain, *kal* not at all, *GAL* probably to be read, *rabû*, quite certain, and *šá* also. The final *GAD* which may be part of *Kidmûri* may be *ḫu* or *nam*. Hence my transcription here is merely a conjecture.

In line 15, the *mârê Ninûa* "sons of Nineveh", meaning the people of Nineveh, must have been preceded by a number, as it is followed by "eighty of another" city.

It is noteworthy that the *nâgir êkalli*, who is named in line 16 and again in line 21, is also named on K. 2655.

What the force of *imaḫḫar* may be does not appear. If we render "he receives", we seem to forget that the text is a copy of a document already 100 years old. It must be future "he shall receive".

The sign *šá* [1] at the beginning of line 17 is not very clear. If it is right, perhaps we may see in *šá-a-a-la-te* a plural of *šá'iltu*, a female enchanter, or augur. It is scarcely likely to be the phonetic reading of *ŠAL SUḪUB-LAL-MEŠ*, but may prove to be.

In the case of *ilkušu* the *šu* should refer to some masculine person, but may refer to Ištar for whom *šá* would be more correct. The *ilku* must be the "due" owed to some god, as *labiru* "ancient" or "obsolete" indicates.

In line 18 some one (or perhaps more than one) official or inhabitant of Nineveh is charged with giving, probably the *ilku labiru* of line 17.

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[1] The sign is badly damaged, and may well be *ša-a-(a-la-te)*.

In line 19 some one shall give yearly, *ina šattišu iddan*. This is more likely than " in the self same year ".

In line 20 perhaps the first *šu* is another case of some such expression as *ina šattišu* or *ina arḫišu, ana ginê* must mean as *ginû* or fixed perpetual offering. We may note that K. 3042 mentions monthly offerings, viii, 22.

Whether *bît ilâni* in line 21 is the end of an official title or the place where the offering was to be made (compare the *ina êkalli* of line 7), it is surely the *nâgir êkalli* who " shall give " *iddan*.

At the end of line 22 I am inclined to restore *Ištar Kid-*(*mûri*).

In line 23 *AN-AN* may be read *ilâni*, possibly *Anu*, but the whole line is uncertain, being on the junction of K. 2800 and Sm. 318, and thus much broken.

At the end of line 26, *še* is very doubtful, only one wedge is left and that may be *u*.

In line 27 perhaps *nâgir* preceded *êkalli* ; whatever the sign was, it ended in a vertical.

The sign before *erî* in line 28 appears to be *ri*, and so we could restore *Kid-mu-ri* and perhaps take *i* as part of *idan*,[1] which, however, is always *iddan* in our text.

Here we have to do with three copies (made evidently in the time of Sennacherib and after the conclusion of his eighth campaign) of edicts conferring or confirming endowments of certain temples in Nineveh. The two later edicts date from the reign of Adad-nirari III. The first is preserved in such a fragmentary condition that we have no direct evidence of its date. But as it precedes the others it is at least as early as Adad-nirari III. The copies are obviously made with great care, preserving the form of characters known from other inscriptions of the period.

The first edict is represented by only seven lines, the second has sixteen lines, and of the third we have only the remains of six lines.[1] They all fail to give a full specification of the endowments, but it is probable that these consisted of charges upon certain officials to render certain dues to the temples. But some of the officials named are probably attached to the temples by their office and named as beneficiaries of or under the edicts.

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[1] The join now makes *i-maḫ-ḫar* certain.

We may conjecturally divide them thus :—

Beneficiaries, the *mâre* (?) and the *ŠAL ŠUḪUR-LAL-MEŠ*, l. 3 ; the *šangû* whose *ginû* is named, l. 4 ; the *nâgir êkalli* shall receive the iron bolts (?) probably in trust for the temples, l. 16 ; possibly the same official shall receive something, l. 28. . . . [Officials] charged with dues ; the *mutîr pûte* of the *sukkal rabû* of Kidmûri is charged with iron bolts, for repairs (?) in l. 14 ; the unnamed official of Nineveh shall give the ancient *ilku* to Ištar, l. 17 ; someone else shall give something yearly to the palace, l. 19 ; and something else yearly or monthly for the *ginû*, l. 20 ; for or in the temples the *nâgir êkalli* shall give something, l. 21.

These settlements were evidently summarized lower on the tablets ; for the reverse[2] of K. 2655, which G. Smith doubtless rightly recognized as part of the same tablet, after a break[3] of about twenty lines, recorded what the king gave in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Aššur, 794 B.C. The king referred to must be Adad-nirari III, and it expressly names him with his father Šamši-Adad. That suggests that the first edict, if not an earlier one cited before it, dates from the latter king. It refers to the *nâgir êkalli* who appears in our text bound to receive and give to the temples. We may, therefore, assume that it was not the particular *nâgir êkalli* of the reigns of Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari who was intended, but the official in that office who was so charged. Sennacherib, doubtless, confirmed these charges.

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[1] Now thirteen lines.

[2] In reality obverse.

[3] There is no break, the fragment continues the third edict.

Along with the *nâgir êkalli*, K. 2655 gives the name of Marduk-bêl . . . but the state of that tablet prevents us from knowing what he did or should do ; whether this was the name of the *nâgir êkalli* is not clear from the text. In the reign of Adad-nirari III, 808 B.C., Bêl-dan was *nâgir êkalli*, and in 778 B.C., Bêl-lîšir. It is scarcely likely that either of these names was that on K. 2655. Of course, someone else may have filled the office between 808 B.C. and 778 B.C. I know of no *nâgir êkalli* in Sennacherib's time with a name like Marduk-bêl . . .

The only other word on K. 2655 which I have noted is *imnû*, and this perhaps refers to the two kings Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari, indicating that these refer to the above noted endowments or charges which (*šá*) those kings to the *nâgir êkalli* and Marduk-bêl . . . (the latter's title probably followed), *imnû*, i.e. assigned or reckoned.

Now we turn to the third tablet, K. 3042, fully published in *ADD.* 1077. It is not certain that all the entries are concerned with the endowments of one and the same temple.

The items of revenue are connected with certain officials, of whom it usually said *idan*, which I take to mean " he shall give ", thus fixing his responsibility for a certain supply to the temple. Thus the *ràb ašlakê še* (*êkalli* ?) was charged with a *ḳa*- measure of oil and a *ḳa* of some other commodity (i, 3). The *ràb ḫarbi* of the (*tartanu* ?) was charged with providing *a pûzu ku-sag* (i, 6). These and evidently other contributions now lost were what (*šá*) Shalmaneser (III, 858–824 B.C., grandfather of Adad-nirari III, or was it Shalmaneser IV, 782–772 B.C. ?) confirmed or made binding (*irkusu*). This verb, *rakâsu*, seems used rather of re-settling an endowment which had become obsolete than of making a fresh endowment. Then we find five *šam šaduppi* which the palace gardener (*šâkinu êkalli*) was charged with. This was all the *ridûte* (if so to be read) of some one, perhaps Shalmaneser, or of something, perhaps the temple (i, 11–14). Then we have one *ḳa*-measure of wine, which someone had to give said to be all from some city, which a Tiglath-Pileser fixed or confirmed (i, 17–17). Then twenty *akâlê*, each a *ḳa*-measure, fourteen *ḳa* of beer (?) and two *ḳa* of *upuntu*[1] perhaps "peas", all of which the *ràb ḳatinnu* had to give. As the name Ludari follows, perhaps he was the benefactor, though he may be the contemporary holder of the office (i, 18–22). Again, the *ràb nuḫatimê*, or chief baker, from the city Ḫatraḳḳa (Hadrach ?) and of Ṣimirra had to bring and give *inaššia idan*. This was all that Sargon had confirmed (*irkusûni*). The scribe then summed up as all seven *ḳa*-measures of *akâlê*, dishes,[2] *bîtê* (?), said to be *akli* of one *ḳa* apiece. Then thirty-eight *ḳa akâlê* dishes,[2] *ridûte* of ten *ḳa* apiece. A male sheep out of every three thousand, which Pappû the palace scribe (of the king) or which the king gave to Ištar. With this the list breaks off, i, 28–36. The next column preserves fragments of other contributions too fragmentary to make out clearly. But another god, *Si-ḫi* . . . is named[3] and a priest. Cols. vi and vii evidently continued the list of contributions, though the latter part appears to be concerned with the distribution of joints among the officials of the temple. The last column, viii, begins with *šá êkurrâte* "of the shrines", *gabbu* "all", *imaḫḫarûni* "they shall receive", clearly the orders of Sennacherib. Then comes all which Adad-nirari (III) son of Šamši-Adad (to ?) the *ràb ḳaḳulat* "appointed". Then *ilkakâte imaḫḫar* "he (or they) shall receive the revenues". Then follows *šû* which must mean he, that one, and should by construction refer to the *ràb ḳaḳulat*, who should give, *idân*. The date follows. But *idan* can hardly mean "gave". So we must take the date, *limmu Mannu-kî-Aššur* (794 B.C.) with the next line *napḫar šá* Adad-nirari "all which Adad-nirari gave", the verb being understood. Then follows a summary, one hundred *akâlê*, twelve *ḳa* of beer, to the confectioners (?),[1] one homer of beer *ana ḫarî* for the seventh day the *ràb ḳakulat* shall give, all which Sargon awarded (no verb is written). Again, an addition in all one hundred *akâlê*, in all one homer and twelve *ḳa* of beer, three sheep all ewes (?), three times in the month *innipašûni* they shall sacrifice (?), *zaussu* (?), 30 *ḳa aklê*, 10 *ḳa* per day, in all eighteen *ḳa* of beer, six *ḳa* per day, all for the temple of Nabû for his priest. Three times, one joint (a tail ?), each one day, before Gula of the Waste (*šá ṣêri*) for her priest, three times a joint (a rib ?) each one day for his priest (whose ?), in all thirty *ḳa akâlê*, eighteen *ḳa* of beer, three tails (?), etc. There was more, but it is too fragmentary to make out.

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[1] Text surely *KU-KUR-MAL* = *maṣḫatu* "fine meal".

[2] Dr. Johns obviously corrected his copy here, i, 29, reading *banšur* for *gišgal*. Also line 31.

[3] Col. ii, 10.

The tablet is not only fragmentary, but obscure from its elliptical constructions. But we can read enough to conclude that what G. Smith said about it is practically correct, though the "writings" and the "making of" Adad-nirari do not appear. It is quite evident that what Sargon did is already past, the present tenses must belong to Sennacherib's time, unless later. The reference to Mannu-kî-Aššur speaks strongly for the same occasion as produced K. 2655 and K. 2800. There is much to investigate and comment upon, but these things do not concern us here.

We naturally seek to find any record that Sennacherib concerned himself with temple endowments. This was certainly the case in *ABL*. 43, transcribed and translated by van Gelderen, *BAS*., iv, p. 513 f. Where the king inquires "who among the notables are not obedient and have not given or not sent in", with reference to the neglect of the *ginû* of Ašur, and the writer lists the governors of fifteen cities as well as a *ràb karman* who had not given the *ginû* in barley and emmer-corn. These officials then, amongst others, had some time been charged to contribute to the regular support of the temple of Ašur. The letter, probably addressed to Esarhaddon, further refers to appointments of officials made by Sargon and Sennacherib. Our text may well, then, be a report to Sennacherib in answer to his inquiries as to the old endowment and on whom their payment was chargeable and how they were to be distributed. He could then issue confirmations and make fresh regulations.

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[1] *SUR-MEŠ*, probably *ṣâḫitûti* "wine pressers".

The most complete collection of sources for the Assyrian History of Sennacherib is still George Smith's *History of Sennacherib translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*. This was left incomplete, but ready for press, and was edited by A. H. Sayce (London, Williams and Norgate, 1878). That it was intended to include more may be inferred from the fact that it omits all mention of documents known to him and already treated by him partially in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon* (1876) and elsewhere. But the importance of the inscriptions of this king lead Smith to deal with others exhaustively.

A very instructive chapter (V) on the historic value of these sources, confirming the conclusions I reached as the result of my lectures on Sennacherib at Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1897, and considerably advancing them, partly due to more recent texts, partly to the more drastic applications of critical method, appeared in 1916, in vol. iii, No. 1, pp. 43–7, of the University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, entitled *Assyrian Historiography, A Source Study*, by Professor A. T. E. Olmstead.

Dr. Bezold, in his great *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collections*, vol. v, p. 2187, gives a list of 151 inscriptions of Sennacherib, and also of twenty-two others, in which his name is mentioned, beside forty-six places in which his name occurs in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Some of these references overlap.

The ways in which the name Sennacherib is written are analysed in Tallquist's *Assyrian Proper Names*, p. 196 f., where references not in Bezold's list occur.

Bezold had previously classified the inscriptions of Sennacherib then known to him in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlicher Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin* for 1888, p. 745 f., in an article on "Die Thontafelsammlungen des British Museum". Also he had dealt with the subject in his *Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Leipzig, Schultze, 1886), and gave a very useful bibliography in his "Inschriften Sanheribs", *KB.*, ii, p. 80, note 1. Considering his careful method, exhaustive knowledge of all that had been published on Sennacherib and his evident interest, we may safely assume that he has overlooked very little indeed.[1]

The inscriptions of Sennacherib do not all necessarily give his name. They may be easily recognized as his inscriptions by their contents corresponding in a more or less close fashion with those that do name him. And he is mentioned by name in inscriptions which belong to his successors. Further, he is mentioned in some documents dated in his, or later reigns, which are in no sense inscriptions of his.

A

The fullest of his inscriptions is the so-called Taylor Cylinder; 55–10–3, 1, more appropriately termed the Prism inscription.

The full text is published in *IR.*, 37–42, transliterated and translated by C. Bezold, in *Schrader's Keilinschritfliche Bibliothek*, Band II, pp. 80–113, under the title "Die Prisma-Inschrift" (published H. Reuther, Berlin, 1890). Dr. Bezold there gives in his notes a list of the duplicates, note 1, p. 80 f., from which he quotes the most noteworthy variants. From the *Catalogue* we may supplement this list considerably.

Thus K. 1634, 1651, 1665, 1666, 1674, 1675, 1751, 2627, 2655, 2662, 3752, 4484, 11718; Sm. 1026, 2029, 2083, 2123; D.T. 69, 200, 236, 320; Rm. 37, 952, 1003, 1029, 1030; Rm. 2, 56, 94, 98, 185; 78–8–28, 1; 79–7–8, 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, 220, 305,

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[1] To the literature cited above should now be added, *The Annals of Sennacherib* by D. D. Luckenbill, Chicago, 1924. It will be seen from Dr. Johns' exhaustive examination of the Bezold and King's Catalogue that Luckenbill did not make use of a large number of texts.

307; 80–7–19, 4, 10, 11, 317; 81–2–4, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 478; 81–7–27, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 17; 82–5–22, 12, 22; 83–1–18, 598, 599, 605; Bu. 89–4–26, 39, 137, 141, 145, 177, are noted as more or less duplicates of this text. They number in all 66. The *Supplement* to this *Catalogue* by L. W. King, adds Nos. 2, 112, 145, 373, 475, 1844, 3331. We now know that K. 2800 + Sm. 318 give Prism V. 83–VI 25.

The "cylinder" is dated *Adar XX limu Bêl-êmurâni*, i.e. 686–5 B.C.[1] (probably the latter year). See *Eponym Canon*, p. 90. K. 1674 is dated in 697 B.C., and omits all mention of the Fifth Campaign and later events. Among the duplicates are therefore reckoned some texts which are only parallel to the earlier parts of the Taylor Cylinder which embodies them.

B

The so-called Rassam Cylinder, 80–7–19, 1, often quoted as Senn. Rm., was partly published by B. T. A. Evetts, *ZA.*, iii, p. 311–31. *KB.*, ii, p. 80, note 10, gives a quotation. A bibliography will be found, *Catalogue*, p. 1728.

The *Catalogue* indicates the following texts as duplicates, K. 1636*a*, 1636*b*, 1637, 1638, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1644, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1838, 4492; Sm. 1894, 2607; Rm. 38, 39; Rm. 2, 91, 95; 48–11–4, 281; 79–7–8, 3, 288, 302; 80–7–19, 2, 3, 4, 14, 101; 81–2–4, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47; 81–7–27, 1, 7, 21, 264; 82–5–22, 23, 24, 25; Bu. 89–4–26, 74, 138, 139, 144, 175; also K. 1514, 1524, 1574, 1575, 1643, 1689, 1699, 1722 f., in all fifty-four duplicates. The *Supplement* indicates Nos. 1, 113 . . .

It covers the first three campaigns and some account of the building operations. It is dated *Aiaru limu Mitunu*, i.e. 700 B.C.[2]

C

The so-called Bellino Cylinder, K. 1680, was published by Layard, *Inscriptions*, pp. 63 ff.

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[1] 691.

[2] See Luckenbill, ibid., pp. 20 and 60–1.

The *Catalogue* indicates the following text as duplicate K. 1649.

It deals with the first two campaigns and comes down to 702 B.C., being dated in the eponymy of Nabû-li'u. It also records some building operations.

The above texts thus appear to record three different redactions of which C is the earliest. B used C and A used both; in each case omissions occur. In spite of the labour devoted to the subject, especially by C. Bezold, who makes a point of indicating the work of other scholars, there is still need of a careful classification of these many duplicates so as to estimate the historic value of each account, and limit its date.

D consists of L. W. King's Cylinder or prism, published in *CT.*, xxvi, pp. 1–37, called 1909, 3–13–1, and its duplicates, 1909–2–13, 1 and 1910–10–8, 142 + etc., accounts of which will be found in the *Supplement* to the *Catalogue*, Nos. 3328–30. A full discussion of the contents of this text, dated 694 B.C., and affording accurate dating for the events of 696, 695, and 694 B.C., is given by L. W. King, in his preface to *CT.*, xxvi, p. 38, etc.

A great many of the above inscriptions dealing with the various buildings of this king were treated together by Meissner and Rost in *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs* (E. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1893).

The *Catalogue* regards as building inscriptions, K. 1356, 1635, 1675, 1838, 3752, 5413*a*, 2662, Rm. 26, 79–7–8, 17; 81–7–27, 3; 81–2–4, 328, K. 4492.

It must not, however, be hastily assumed that all these refer to buildings alone. Some may be the ends of texts in groups A–D, or, at any rate, duplicates of them.

The Palace of Sennacherib which he called *ša šanina lâ išu* is described in K. 1680; 80–7–19, 1, 2; 79–7–8, 302; 81–2–4, 42. [See Meissner and Rost, ibid., 1–46.]

Some texts are apparently on votive vases as 56–9–9, 138, published III R. 3, No. 13.

A votive inscription is Sm. 1893.

Of other inscriptions noted in the *Catalogue*, we may remark :

K. 1645, a cylinder fragment dated probably 699–8 B.C., has *migir ilâni rabûte*, etc.
K. 1695 is a prismoid, conjecturally Sennacherib's.
K. 1764 ,, ,, ,, ,,
K. 6177 a Babylonian text.
K. 13828 ?
Rm. 2, 80 is a prismoid.
Rm. 2, 186 is a cylinder.
80–7–19, 5 is a prismoid.
80–7–19, 12 is a cylinder.
82–3–23, 80 may be a tablet.
Bu. 89–4–26, 41 prismoid.
Bu. 89–4–26, 149 cylinder.
Bu. 89–4–26, 150, text given by Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 107, has Taylor Cylinder, v, 39–47, condensed.
Bu. 91–5–9, 217, is a cylinder.
D.T. 166, Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 75, says it refers to Sennacherib's buildings.
Suppl. 1008.
,, 1762.
K. 1752, Meissner and Rost, ibid., p. 1.
K. 3752 ,, ,, ,,

There are inscriptions of Sennacherib not in the British Museum. A number of those in the Berlin Museum are published by Ungnad in Heft I of the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907), No. 74, a brick duplicate of IR. 70, concerned with the palace at Tarbisi ; No. 75 a stone with a legend showing that he made an image of Ašur and the great gods ; No. 76 a brick with his name and titles ; No. 77 an alabaster tablet dealing with events down to the battle of Halule and mention of an Arabic campaign. See Scheil, *OLZ.*, vii, 69 f. But none of these name his buildings at Nineveh, nor refer to earlier kings who built there.

One could hardly expect any reference to such buildings in the inscriptions found at Aššur and published in the

Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts by L. Messerschmidt [and Otto Schroeder], Nos. 43–50 and 72–4 [of vol. i, and Nos. 117–24 of vol. ii. Noted in Luckenbill, ibid., 20–1].

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xi, p. 189, Scheil published a duplicate of No. 44 of the Kouyunjik Gallery, which gave some important corrections of the edition of I Raw., pl. vii, No. viii F. It had already been described by its finder, Budge, in *ZA*. iv, 284.

In *Le prisme S d'Assaraddon* (Paris, Champion, 1914), Scheil published in transcription and translation a duplicate of Taylor, col. v, 5–12.

It will naturally occur to the reader to inquire whether any texts of Adad-nirari III exist which throw light on his endowments and buildings.

We may first examine those already published in *ADD*. Nos. 651–6, 803, 808. These have been admirably transliterated and translated by A. Ungnad in his *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1913), Nos. 1–7.

We will follow his numeration in order that the reader may check our references easily. No. 1 dated in the eponymy of Mušallim Ninurta, 793 B.C., therefore just after the date of our endowments, leaves no doubt of the reign. Adad-nirari, son of Šamši-Adad, son of Shalmaneser, can only be Adad-nirari III. Unfortunately the text is too defective for us to discern what was the endowment or for whom. But the phrases in lines 7–8 suggest that the king did what he did (he speaks in the first person) for the benefit and favour of the gods for all future time, and in the oath by the great gods of Assyria, among whom he indicates Sibitti as in our edicts by which he would bind his successors not to change the tenor of his edict, he suggests a similar intention. A careful comparison of the text and tablets, however, shows that this cannot be part of K. 2800 + Sm. 318. This text has been repeatedly published, see the references under K. 310 in the *Catalogue*, p. 80.

No. 2, my No. 653, was dated in the eponymy of Balâtu, 787 B.C., but beyond the certainty that it is due to Adad-nirari III we gain no further information.

No. 3, my No. 803, is not dated by eponymy, but names an Adad-nirari and seems to record a sale of estate to that king, though it is most unusual for the king to appear as direct purchaser. Analogy with Sargon's dealings with the owners of the land he absorbed for the building of Dûr-Sargon, see No. 809 (Ungnad's No. 10), suggests that Adad-nirari may have acquired the estate either to build his palace, or to endow a temple. The nature of the text renders it quite foreign to either of our edicts.

No. 4, though undated in its present state, unless Tâb-Bêl in line 13 be an eponym's name, was executed by Adad-nirari III. The mention of a Tiglath-Pileser in line 5 raises the question whether the text may not rehearse an endowment of Adad-nirari's which Tiglath-Pileser may have confirmed. We know from K. 3042 that Tiglath Pileser did confirm certain endowments to the temples concerned, and it is probable that these were part of those recited by our edicts. But the connexion is not yet certain. The phraseology of the text suggests that this Tiglath Pileser was a king; for only a king is known to use the phrase *ana arkât ûmê*, which also occurs in No. 1.

No. 5 merely preserves the superscription of an edict, but is obviously of Adad-nirari III, as I already saw when I published it as No. 654. I have since joined it to No. 7, which removes all doubt as to its authorship. Unfortunately nothing is left of the body of the text.

No. 6, my No. 808, has lost its superscription, but shows that Adad-nirari, probably our king, had freed from state charges (*uzakki*, the same term as in our first edict) an estate. But this was probably at Kalah, and it appears to be given to a person whose name (only partly preserved) and office render unlikely the idea that it could refer to our edicts.

No. 7 is now joined to No. 5, see above.

Besides these inscriptions, not all of which the *Catalogue* ascribes to Adad-nirari, Bezold further gives a number of references on p. 2161*a* under the name of Ramman-nirari. The only text said by the *Catalogue* to be an inscription of this king, beside K. 2800, is 81–2–4, 185, which is one of the *ziggatu*, bowl or knob, inscriptions, on a so-called vase of clay. Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 75, shows that this is our Adad-nirari; as mentioned, the *Catalogue* gives No. 1 above, K. 3042, with which we have dealt, and a number of references to *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Of these I R. 35, No. 1, from Kalah, is transcribed and translated by Abel, *KBI.*, p. 188 f. It describes his conquests and gives his genealogy. So do Nos. 2 and 3; No. 4 is from a brick from Nebi Yunus: see *KB.*, i, pp. 188 ff. None of them afford any information that he built anything at Nineveh. III Raw. i, col. iii, 7, records his name in the eponym list, fixing his date. The reference in K. 8663 occurs in the colophon of a hymn; the scribe calls himself descendant of the Chief Physician of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. See *Catalogue*, p. 948 f., and Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 71. The interval of time suggests our king, but that is hardly certain. K. 14182, which the *Catalogue* assigns to an Adad-nirari is a *ziggatu*, but till it is published we cannot be sure which king it refers to. In his *Kurzegefasster Überblick*, § 46, Bezold adds as of this time the two votive hands named by G. Smith, *Ass. Discoveries*, p. 252, cf. p. 74. They were found at Kalah.

Outside the British Museum some inscriptions of this king, now in the Berlin Museum, are published by Messerschmidt [and Schroeder] in *Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur Historischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911 [1922]). Most of these are transcribed and translated by Luckenbill[1] and by Bezold.

We could hardly expect that inscriptions of Adad-nirari from Aššur would give information as to buildings or endowments in Nineveh. Nos. 35, 36, in *KAH.*, i, merely give name and genealogy.

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[1] *Ancient Records of Assyria*, i, 265.

In view of the possibility that our first edict comes from Šamši-Adad V we may examine whether any inscriptions of that king throw light on his buildings in Nineveh. The *Catalogue*, p. 2180, under Šamši-Ramman reckons KK. 310, 2800, 3042, and Sm. 318, with which we have already dealt. It adds Rm. 2427, which was published by Peiser in his "Studien zur orientalischen Altertumskunde II", p. 240 f., in the *Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Peiser, 1898). It is a treaty between Šamši-Adad of Assyria and Marduk-nâdir-šum of Babylon. This, of course, does not concern our edicts. The *Catalogue* adds references to *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I R. 29 ff., which is transliterated and translated, *KBI*., pp. 174–87.

I R. 35, Nos. 3, 4, we have already dealt with under Adad-nirari. III R., i, col. ii, 41, merely gives his place in the eponym list, and so fixes his date.

In the Aššur texts preserved at Berlin we find KAH I, Nos. 31–3, with name and genealogy only, No. 34 name only.

The text K. 9264 names a Šamši-Adad.

Sm. 2115 is a *ziggatu*. Winckler, *OLZ*., i, 74, adds that it names Lullume.

A perusal of Tallquist's *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 214, will enable the reader to differentiate the various Šamši-Adads, but unless the inscription gives more than the name, it is difficult to say to which king of the name we should ascribe it.

From an inscription, probably of Sargon's, published III R., 3, No. 12, 56–9–91, 171, see *Catalogue*, p. 1694, we learn that he repaired a temple of Nabû and Marduk which had been already restored by Adad-nirari III (?). For this inscription on a *ziggatu* or *ziḳatu*, see now King's *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (London, Luzac, 1904), p. 59, No. 2, and p. 124 f., where, however, it should be noted that the erroneous ideas ascribed to me were foisted into my article in Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii, col. 3422 f., without my knowledge, but over my initials. Most of these statements were taken from an article by Billerbeck and Jeremias, *BAS.*, iii, p. 108 f., but even these writers do not say all of what was added to my article.[1] King's corrections are to be accepted. This restoration may have been the occasion when he [Adad-nirari III] fixed the endowments credited to him in K. 3042 and support the possibility that Adad-nirari III did restore the temple of Nabû and Marduk in Nineveh. For Sargon's rebuilding of this temple, see the inscription No. 11, p. 195, of Winckler's *Sargon*, vol. i. The bricks bearing it came from the eastern edge of the mound of Kouyunjik. Hence we may with some certainty place the temple there.

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83–1–18, 405. *ADD.* 142. 524.
1909–3–13–1. *L. W. King cylinder.* 548, duplicates of, 548.
ABL 43. 544.

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[1] Dr. King realized and personally acknowledged the error that had been made, but unfortunately he discovered it too late to prevent his perpetuating it in his valuable *Records of the Reign of Tukulti Ninib.* [A. S. J.]

Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan· III: The Nob Region

By F. W. THOMAS

(*Continued from p.* 98)

BY the "Nob region" I would for the present purpose indicate generally the stretch of country south of the desert of Chinese Turkestan and lying between "the Śa-cu region" on the east and "the Khotan region" on the west, together with any part of the mountain hinterland to the south. It would thus include, for example, Cer-cen (Calmadana), Charkalik (Nob), and the former Shan-shan kingdom. The documents come mainly from the old fort of Mīrān, which was also, as we have seen, in communication with Śa-cu; there is, indeed, ample evidence of active intercourse between the Tibetan authorities from Khotan as far as Śa-cu and Kva-cu and even further into China proper. In general it is clear that by the routes along the desert edge and otherwise, long journeys, covering many hundreds of miles, were habitual among the populations of the scattered oases and widely separated mountain settlements; in respect of distances they thought in large measures. It is in virtue of apparent importance and frequent mention in the documents that Nob, with its three or four towns, or forts, may be used to symbolize the whole region. The citations may be arranged under the names of the districts or places, which hereafter may acquire a more definite location. The dates are, no doubt, for the most part in the eighth century A.D.

I. TSHAL-BYI

That this name is connected with Nob we have already seen (*JRAS*. 1927, p. 87). Otherwise it has been known only from a mention in one of the Tibetan chronicles relating to Khotan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 242). At the time of the downfall of Buddhism in Khotan the monks who abandoned the country and after a toilsome journey found refuge at the Tibetan capital reached Tibetan territory first at a place called Tshal-byi. Whether the name is itself Tibetan or dates from a pre-Tibetan period and is perhaps connected with a personal name Salvi or Saluvi, occurring in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, can hardly yet be considered. The available information is contained in the following documents :—

1. M.I. xix, 001 (wood, 16 × 2 cm., complete ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of clear *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | blon : Stag : bžer : gyi : bran : | | Jeẖu : Lho : gzigs : | bkaẖ . cad . kyis . bcad : de [2] Tshal : byiẖi : mṅan : gyi : ẖbaṅsu : bsnan . nas . Nob . chuṅu : na . mchis : pa : | bdag . Tshal : byi . na : rje : [B 1] blas : ẖtshal : baẖi . tshe : | g-yar : por : ẖkhol : du : gnaṅ : baẖi : gtad : byaṅ : yaṅ : skur : ba : lags . na : | [B 2] sug : las : phor : deb : ẖtshal : du : stsold : pa . | Nob . chuṅu : na : žugs : śiṅ . ma . mchisna : | Ka . dag [B 3] tu : mchiste : phor : deb : thaṅ . btab : pa . bžin : du : bgyid : du : stsald : ||

[1–2] " A servant of Councillor Stag-bžer, Jeẖu Lho-gzigs, having been in Little Nob, employed by order (*or* as a punishment, *bkaẖ-cad-kyis-bcad-de*) among the government subjects (*mṅan-gyi-ẖbaṅs* ?) of Tshal-byi, [2–B 1] I in Tshal-byi at the time of His Excellency's demand sent a note of instruction requiring him to serve on hire : [B 2] the message was that his handiwork should be cup-making. [B 2–3] As, while *he* was staying in Little Nob, *they* did not come, I sent to him to go to Ka-dag and engage in cup-making in accordance with the order given."

Notes

l. 1. *Jeẖu* : On this clan name see above, p. 93. *Mṅan-gyi-ẖbaṅs* : This is a recurrent phrase of not definitely ascertained meaning. Thus in M.I. xxiv, 0029, we read ༄ | | *mṅan.gi.ẖbaṅs.* | | *Mon.Tshe.skyes.la.* | " To the government servant, the Mon Tshe-skyes."

bsnan : see below, p. 559.

B 2. *Ka-dag*: Concerning this place see below, pp. 565–8.

2. M.I. i, 3 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 18 × 2·5 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, partly erased).

[1] ༄ | | Tshal.byi.Car.chen.na | | mthoṅ.khyab.byaṅ. sruṅs . pa . ñuṅ . śas . śig [2] mchis . pa | | bkaẖ . luṅ . rñiṅ . daṅ . | | khri . sde . gsa[r] . btsugs . kyi . bkaẖ . luṅ . daṅ . sbyar . na [B 1] rts[e] . rgod . lta . bur . myi . ṅa . gis . kha . myi . brtan . žiṅ . myi . gtor . bar . ẖbyuṅ . . . . . [B 2] . . las | | mṅaẖ . ris . su . ẖkhrug . pa . byuṅ . nas | | Tshal . byi . khams . [s]u . yaṅ [B 3] ẖbro . cog . lastsogs . ste . | | glo . ba . riṅs . pas | | ma . legs . dgu . žig . bgyis.

[1–2] “In Car-chen of Tshal-byi the northern watch-tower has few defenders. [2–B 1] With regard to the old orders and the orders of the newly appointed authorities, it appears that men should not be sent away, as if in frolic and mirth, without a promise from me. [B 2] From . . . trouble has arisen on the frontier, and in the region of Tshal-byi also there are runaways (*ẖbro-cog* ?). The longheads have committed simply every possible mistake.”

Notes

ll. 2 and B 1. *daṅ-sbyar-na* and *ẖbyuṅ*: On these phrases see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 79.

mthoṅ-khyab: see below, p. 559.

l. B 3. *glo-ba-riṅs*: This phrase has occurred, *supra*, 1927, p. 823. *ma-legs-dgu*: On *dgu* as a sign of plurality see above, 1927, p. 823.

3. M.I. i, 23 (paper; 31·5 × 8 cm.; partly incomplete with loss of two half-lines at the upper right; ll. 8 + 1 *recto* inverted of somewhat cursive *dbu-can* writing: *verso* a different document).

[1] ༄ | . | Guṅ.Khri.bžer.gyi.bsñel.byaṅ.du.sñan. sñuṅs . pa | | Tshal . . . . [2] bdag . chag . sṅun | laṅ . myiẖi . sde . las | | phaẖ . tshe . bkaẖ . chad .

gyis . kh . . . . [3] mthoṅ . khyab . na bsnand . sor(ṅ ?) | | bkaẖ . luṅ . las . ẖbyuṅ . ba . las | | Tshal . byi . [dmag . *pon* . . . . chad . gner . bt*a*gs . l*a*s | | sde . kh-] [4] bsor . bsnan . pa | stams . las . [br]i . ste | | sṅar . żaṅ . lon . ched . po . la . gsold . pa . las | | Tshal . byi . mthoṅ . khyab . du . sde . spo . bar . gnaṅ . ste . | [5] phyag . rgyas . gthad . nas | | snon . god . ma . thebs . pa . tsam . żig | | bdag . chag . pha . bran . myi . spad . l[ṅ]a . drug . mchis . pa | | spu . gñis [6] kyaṅ | mthoṅ . khyab . kyi . skya . pherd . chiṅ . ṅo . thog . pa . żig . na | | sde . cha . mthoṅ . khyab . du . snon . god . thob . żig . par | | Tshal . byi . dmag . pon . daṅ | [7] spyan . la . gthad . par . chi . gnaṅ | żes . mol . [te] | | rgyal . bu . Bkum (?) . sras . kyi . bkaẖs . gnaṅ . phyag . rgya . [ẖga]żig | brdzaṅs . na | | guṃ . ba . las . [8] sos . pa . daṅ . ẖdra . ste | | bdag . chag . spad . ma . guṃ . tshun . chad | żal . che . mthoṅ . du . spogs . śiṅ . mchis |

Inverted. [9] ༄ | | ẖphrul . *gyi* . *ża* . [sṅa . la] | g-yar . żan . [Mtsiṅ . sa . Bor . sgaẖi] . mchid . gsol.

[1–2] " For a reminder to Guṅ Khri-bżer [letter of] inquiry as to *his* health on the part of us, a staff of old employees (*sṅun.laṅ.myi* ?) *in the watch-tower of* Tshal-byi. [2–4] Whereas by order in *our* father's lifetime . . . instruction was given for keeping guard as employees in the watch-tower, the Tshal-byi general . . . summarily (*stams-las*) reduced the staff employed in the guard. [4–5] As previously submitted to the great Uncle-Minister, a letter was sent directing a change of staff in the Tshal-byi watch-tower; only compensation (pay ?) for the employment was not received. [5–8] We being five or six brothers, *sons of a* father in service, and both families being capable persons carrying on the work (*skya-pherd* ?) of the watch-tower, if a letter were sent with orders on the part of the prince . . . , advising that the staff in the watch-tower should receive compensation (pay ?) for their employment and that the Tshal-byi general should be pleased to admit us to his presence (*or* to take it under his eye ?), it would be as if we had been saved from death. [8] So long as we are still alive, we brothers are confident of seeing a [just] decision."

Inverted. [9] "To the divine presence: letter-petition of a poor hireling (*g-yar-żan* ?) Mtsiṅ-sa Bor-sga."

Notes

l. 1. *bsñel-byaṅ*: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. *a*, iv, 00128.

l. 3, etc. *mthoṅ-khyab* (= *khab*): This might be an alternative form of *mthon-khab* (there being not a little indifference as between *n* and *ṅ* final), which might mean "high residence, head-quarters"; but the other occurrences of the phrase (see, e.g., above, p. 557, and cf. M.I. iv, 27; iv, 57*x*; xiv, 0012; xxv, 003; xxviii, 0036; lviii, 001) seem to favour the rendering given.

bsnan: This is clearly a form from *snon*, which occurs later in the document; the usual sense being that of "augmentation", the meaning here may be to employ in addition. Cf. p. 556.

ẖbyuṅ-ba-las: On this phrase see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 823.

l. 4. *stams-las*: The phrase has occurred 1927, p. 838; the exact sense is not certain.

l. 6. *skya-pherd*: Is this a metaphor "pull the oar"?

l. 8. *spogs*: This seems to be = *spobs* "confidence".

4. M.I. iv, 49 (wooden tablet, fragmentary at right; c. 13 × 2·5–3 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | | stod.nas.blon.Ldoṅ.bzaṅ.Lha.sgra.Gsas . . . [2] spriṅ . ba . daṅ . ñams . las | stod . kyi . Dru . . . [B 1] Tshal . byiẖi . thad . kar . bsñens . par . bla . nas . thug. . . . [B 2] chad . [nas] | naṅ . po . cag [bag ?] . gñis | khog . pas.

[1–B 2] "It having been previously decided (?) from dispatches of Councillor Ldoṅ-bzaṅ Lha-sgra, Gsas . . . above and from reflections that the Upper Dru-*gu* had extended (were apprehended) in the direction of Tshal-byi, [B 2] we two friends . . . ."

Note

Concerning the Dru-gu, with whom Tshal-byi is here associated, see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 80 (the Drug-cun), p. 81 (Ḫa-ża).

5. M.I. xvi, 19 (paper ; c. 24·5 × 8·5 cm. ; obscure and left lower corner torn away ; ll. 5 *recto* in a rather square cursive *dbu-can* writing + ll. 6 *verso*, more rounded).

[l. 4] . . . || Tshal.byi.khri[m] [5] bon.pho[g].paḫi.na. bran . skyes . ste . sgrol . bar . chad . ces || bde . blon . gyis . mchid . stsald . nas || stag. . . .

B, l. 5. . . . | ña.Klu.len. . . .

"The excellent councillor having sent a letter to the effect that, there having been a young servant (*na-bran* ?) who has struck the Tshal-byi judge, protection should be given, the soldier . . . The witness (?) Klu-len . . ."

Note

l. 3. *khri*[*m*]*-bon-pho*[*g*]*-paḫi* : The reading is somewhat uncertain. As regards *khrim-bon* = *khrims-dpon* it may be remarked that *dpon* often appears in the documents in the forms *bon* and *phon*. Judges are sometimes mentioned, and it seems that the district Tshal-byi was provided with one. With *na-bran* "young servant" compare *pha-bran* above, p. 558.

6. M.I. xxi, 5 (wooden tablet, complete ; c. 15 × 2 cm. ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ || Tshal.byi.dmag.pon.daṅ || żiṅ.ḫgod.kyi. [riṅ] [2] la.gthad.phā.

"Sent to the Tshal-byi general and [as] the price of the land-settlement."

Notes

l. 1. *dmag-pon* : It appears that there was a "general commander" for Tshal-byi ; cf. No. 8, below.

żiṅ-ḫgod : The phrase occurs below, p. 573.

riṅ-la-gthad-pha : The reading *riṅ* (= *rin*) is not quite certain ; *gthad-pa* = *gtad-pa* " sent ". The *la* seems to do double duty, " to " the general and " for " the price : cf. *rin-du*, p. 568, No. 29. But *riṅ-la* may mean " during ".

7. M.I. xli, 0013 (wooden tablet, c. 8·5 × 2 cm. ; ll. 2. *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

. . . Tshal.byi.ẖi.ru.dpon.du.bskos.

" Was appointed Ru-dpon (Horn- or Wing-Commander) of Tshal-byi."

Notes

Ru-dpon : The title occurred above, 1927, p. 829.

8. M.I. iv, 10 (paper ; c. 10 × 8 cm. ; ll. 5 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[2] | sgyeẖu.ka.H̱tshal.byi (?).
[6] . . . dmag.dpon. . . .

" bagman (?), H̱tshal-byi, . . . general."

Note

sgyeẖu-ka : See below, p. 569.

9. M. Tagh. a, iv, 00128 (paper).

[l. 2] . . . Tshal.byir.mchis.nas . . .

" having gone to Tshal-byi."

From these passages it appears that Cer-cen was included in Tshal-byi, which according to the other evidence would appear to be rather the hinterland to the south. From the mention of the general and the " horn-commander " it is plain that it was the district of a military unit.

II. NAG-ŚOD, RGOD-TSAṄ-SMAD (Lower Rgod-tsaṅ), RGOD-TSAṄ-STOD (Upper Rgod-tsaṅ), KHA-DRO

These are four districts, as is evident from the arrangement of the wooden document, M.I. vii, 0017.

10.	Nag-śod		Rgod-tsaṅ-smad		Rgod-tsaṅ-stod		Kha-dro	
	gro	nas	gro	nas	gro	nas	gro	nas
	(wheat)	(barley)	(wheat)	(barley)	(wheat)	(barley)	(wheat)	barley),

clearly a tally intended to record amounts of wheat and barley from the districts. The first three are not infrequently mentioned in connexion with their respective territorial regiments, e.g. in—

(*a*) 11. M.I. ii, 32.

Nag.śod.kyi.sde.gyab.Lha.ston.

" The *gyab* Lha-ston of the Nag-śod district (*or* regiment)," where *gyab* seems to be a military title occurring elsewhere.

12. M.I. xiv, 76.

| Nag.śod.kyi.sde | skyaṅ.po.Khrom.rma.

" The *skyaṅ-po* Khrom-rma of the Nag-śod district (*or* regiment)." *Skyaṅ-po* recurs below, p. 583.

13. M.I. xiv, 129.

༄ | . | Tshugs.pon.Kha . . . [2] lad.Klu.rton | Byan.po.Nag . śod . gi . sde | Thre . Mthoṅ . rma.

" Captain Kha . . . lad Klu-rton. Cook of the Nag-śod regiment, Thre Mthoṅ-rma."

(Further mentions in M.I. ii, 16 ; xiv, 67 ; xvi, 005 ; xxv, 001. In M.I. viii, 37, we have the *rje-z̀iṅ* " lord's land " of Nag-śod.)

(*b*) 14. M.I. viii, 45.

༄ | | Rgod.tshaṅ.smad.gyi.sa.mkhar.la | dor.gsuṃ | |

" To the land-town of Lower Rgod-tshaṅ three teams."

(On *dor*, = " team " or " yoke " of oxen (*or* yaks) for ploughing, see *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 817–18. Many of the documents relate to the hiring-out of such teams.)

15. M.I. xiv, 006.

Rgod . tsaṅ . smad . kyi . sde . Lbeg . rma . Nuṅ . z̀ub.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tsaṅ district (*or* regiment), Lbeg-rma Nuṅ-żub."

16. M.I. xxvii, 9.

Rgod . tshaṅ . smad . kyi . sde | tsa . rṅu . Khrom . legs.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tshaṅ district (*or* regiment), the *tsa-rṅu* Khrom-legs."

(*tsa-rṅu* (or *ce-rṅu*), apparently an official title, recurs in M.I. xiv, 46; xiv, 109*b*, p. 571 below; xxiii, 009.)

17. M.I. lviii, 004.

༄ || Spoṅ.Raṅ.slog | Rgod.tshaṅ.smad.kyi.stoṅ.pon.gyi.żiṅ | dor.ch[i]g.

"Land of Spoṅ Raṅ-slog, thousand-commander of Lower Rgod-tsaṅ, one yoke."

It appears herefrom that Lower Rgod-tsaṅ was a Thousand-district, *stoṅ-sde*, and had a *stoṅ-dpon*. The term *stoṅ-sde*, which perhaps denotes a district of 1,000 estates (as Dr. Prāṇa Nath suggests for similar phrases in India), has been noted above, 1927, pp. 75 and 808. The district is mentioned also in M.I. 003, and M. Tagh. *a*, ii, 0097.

(*c*) 18. M.I. iv, 85.

Rgod . tshaṅ . stod . kyi . sde | stom . kyaṅ . Lha . [2] H̱brug . brtsan |

"Of the Upper Rgod-tshaṅ district, *stom-kyaṅ* Lha H̱brug-brtsan."

19. M.I. xiv, 108*d*.

l. 2. Rgod . tsaṅ . stod . so . pa . myi . bcu . gsum . mchis . pa.

"Upper Rgod-tsaṅ soldiers (police), thirteen men, came."

(Another mention of Rgod-tsaṅ in xiv, 124.)

Connected probably with Rgod-tsaṅ are Rgod-ldiṅ :—

20. M.I. xiv, 135.

Byaṅ . po . Rgod . ldiṅ . gi . sde . . . [2] Pyi . sgra [B 1] tshugs . pon . . .

"Cook, Rgod-ldiṅ regiment, P(h)yi-sgra . . . captain."

21. M.I. iii, 14.

Rgod . ldiṅ . gi . rje . żiṅ.

"The lord's land in Rgod-ḻdiṅ."

(The phrase "lord's land", *rje-żiṅ*, will recur again below, p. 573 : see also above, pp. 562, 564.

and Rtse-rgod ("Peak-Rgod") mentioned below (p. 590).

III. H̱DZOM-SMAD (Lower H̱dzom) and H̱DZOM-STOD (Upper H̱dzom)

A district H̱dzom is several times mentioned in the documents, more often, in fact, than would be the case if it were in another region. The name H̱brug suggests (see 1927, p. 68) that it lay east, towards the Śa-cu quarter.

(*a*) 22. M.I. ii, 25.

H̱dzom . smad . kyi . sde | H̱o . nal . Lha . zo.

"Of the Lower H̱dzom district (*or* regiment), the H̱o-nal Lha-zo."

H̱o-nal seems to be an official title in M.I. ii, 27 ; vi, 6 ; xiv, 58*a* ; xxviii, 11, also.

(Other mentions in ii, 37, 38 ; viii, 17 ; xxiii, 009 (*verso*) ; the last a letter from H̱brug-legs to Councillor Stag-bzaṅ.)

(*b*) 23. M.I. ii, 17.

H̱dzom . stod . kyi . sde . Lda . tshoṅ . ẖbru (?) . H̱brug . btsan.

"Of the Upper H̱dzom district (*or* regiment), Lda-tshoṅ-ẖbru (?) H̱brug-btsan."

(The H̱dzom-stod district is mentioned again in vii, 33.)

IV. CER-CEN

One reference to this well-known place has occurred above (p. 557) ; another may be cited, since there are no more.

24. M.I. xxviii, 2 (wooden tablet, complete ; c. 20·5 × 2·3 cm. ; ll. 3 *recto* + 4 *verso* of neat, cursive *dbu-can* writing, in very black ink, partly faded).

[1] ༄ | | tse . rje (co . jo ?) . Mtsho . gzigs . daṅ . Klu . ẖtsho . la | Myes . rton . gsol . ba . | bdag . kyaṅ . mar . m[ch]i . bar .

[2] bgyis.pha.las : | bdag.chag.rje.blas.kyaṅ.Cer. cen . du . chad . pa . skad . kyaṅ . gdaẖ . na . ẖdir . yaṅ . boṅ . bu [3] yaṅ . slar . da . chuṅ . mchis . khre . nas . kham . ga . kyaṅ . mar . myi . phyin . na . mchis . na . | slar . dguṅ . [B 1] bcu . tshun . chad . tsham . gis . bśol . lags . na . | Cer . cen . du . mchi . ẖtshal . ẖam . m[y]i . ẖtshal . [B 2] ba . drul . ba . la . z̀ib : mor . rtogs . la . drul : gaṅ . sṅa . ba . la . myur . du . bskas . ma . spriṅ . na . rab . tu . myi . sman [B 3] ste . mchi . ẖtshal | slag . pa . gchig . spus . ma . btsal . na . gtan . myi . sman . te . riṅ . spus . ci . dbabs . b[dag] (bcug ? brlag ?) [B 4] m[tsha]l . daṅ . dbul . bar . ẖtshal.

[1] " To the chiefs Mtsho-gzigs and Klu-ẖtsho : petitioner Myes-rton. [1–2] After I also had made the journey down there was a report that Your Excellency yourself were departing to Cer-cen. [2–B 1] Here the ass (asses ?) had fallen a little behind, so that not a morsel of millet and barley had arrived down here. Subsequently there has been a delay of some ten days. [B 1–3] While considering carefully a letter *inquiring* whether I ought or ought not to go to Cer-cen, I very unfortunately did not send the previous letter which I had written at once : so I ought to go. [B 3–4] Since, if a good robe shall not have been procured, matters (or my husband ? *gtan*) will not be well arranged, please . . . price and quality, as may be arranged, and send it."

Notes

l. 3. *kham-ga* : Apparently = *kham-gaṅ*.

l. B 3. *bskas* : Is this from *bkaẖ* ?

V. Ka-dag

As is noted by Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 320 n., 454 n.), Mīrzā Haidar, in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross, pp. 10, 52, 64, 406), mentions in connexion with Lob (= Nob) a city named Katak, and tells a story of its having been overwhelmed in a sand-storm. There has been some question concerning the name, which some MSS. give as

Kanak; and Sir A. Stein even thinks that the story is legendary, being based upon the expression *kötek-shahri* "town of dead trees". These doubts must now disappear in view of the references to be cited from the Tibetan documents; but whether the place Kotak-Sheri, located by Mr. E. Huntingdon (*The Pulse of Asia*, p. 387) at a distance of 138 miles from Endere and 264 miles from Lulan, represents the old site and name we have at present no means of determining.

25. M.I. x, 7 (wood; 19–20 × 2·5 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | | rjo.chos.kyi.mṅaẖ.bdag.chen.po.la.[skyo ?]. gsolan . rgad (?) . gsolte . | | bla . nas . Nob . chu [2] ṅuhi . skun . mkhar . gzuṉ̇ . *bkaẖ* . gros . ẖdum . naẖ | | bdag . cag . mthoṅ . kyab . dum | [B 1] ẖbuẖi . steṅ . du . Ka . dag . gi . mkhar . bsel . gyis . bsnan . te . mchis . pa . la | | dgraẖ . sde . [B 2] [phuṅ ?] . po . ches | | sdum . thab . ni . bkum | m[g]o . [d]u . ni . rtsas . bcad | | ẖtshal . brgyags . [B 3] baṅ . doṅ . ci . mchis . pa . ni | | dgraẖs . ẖtshal | | da . ltar . ñams . la . bab . ciṅ . | ẖtshald.

[1] "To the great lord, the magistrate, are submitted sorrow and mirth (?). [1–B 1] Previously in council deliberating the taking of the citadel of Little Nob we on the top of a part of the watch-tower were engaged in guarding the town (*mkhar*) of Ka-dag. [B 1–3] Meanwhile an enemy troop in great force slew our families. First of all they destroyed the harvest (*or* they carried off the things in the houses ?). The food and victuals that were in the store-pits the enemy ate. Such a loss having taken place, we report."

Notes

l. 1. [*skyo*]-*gsolan-rgad*: The reading is uncertain. We have translated *skyo-gsol-ẖam-rgod*.

l. 2. *skun-mkhar*: Note that Little Nob has a citadel. *mthoṅ-kyab*: See above, p. 559.

l. B 3. *ñams*: See below, p. 569. Or = "reflection"?

26. M.I. xlii, 1 (wooden tablet ; c. 21 × 2 cm., somewhat fragmentary ; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of regular *dbu-can* writing, partly erased—for further use of the tablet ?).

[1] ༄ | . | sṅon . glo . . . . | [cag . ra ?] . . . . .
żiṅ . [m]chis . mchis . pa . las | | rtaẖi . lo . la | ban . ẖde .
[2] mtshog . gyi[1] . byin . [gi] . . . . | .
[Dru . gu ?] . sba-i . . . . b[o]ṅ . żes . mchi . nas .
g[c]es [3] . . . . [do] . c[i]g . stagi . [leṅ .
ba . daṅ] | bluṅ [byuṅ ?] . baẖ . ẖog . tu . | myi . ẖdiẖi .
yus . | [B 1] . . . . [mchi . nas |
[i . ẖd]i . sbyi (myi ?) . skyugs . las | bdag . gis . mjald | |
[B 2] de . dpaṅ . gtan . tshigs . kyaṅ . gsaṅ . ba . . . . . .
las | | lta . . . ñede . . . . yus . mjald . pa .
sgaṅ (?) [B 3] -u . blar . gsol . te . | gra . tus . Ka . dag . du .
ẖgug . pa . lta . żig | bdag . ṅan . [pa . ni] | Nob . chu .
ṅuhi . . . . . [tsh]al . kha | ẖdzin[d] . daṅ . yan . lag . ni . ma .
mchis |

(Apparently referring to some quarrel or suit about a donkey, wherein a *bande* was concerned.)

[B 3] . . after previously requesting the complainants to . . . . , the seminary assemblage was summoned, it appears, to Ka-dag. Your humble servant himself wishes . . . . of Little Nob. The spokesman [and] his subordinates are not come.

Notes

1. B 3. *gra-tus* : This apparently means " the assemblage (*tus*) of the seminary (*grwa*) " = " the seminary in a body ". It is mentioned again below (p. 584) ; perhaps it functioned in trials of cases at law.

kha-ẖdzind-daṅ-yan-lag : In this connexion *yan-lag* seems to mean " those associated with (= Sanskrit *aṅga* ' member ') " the spokesman ; below (pp. 574, 593) we have a " guarantor ", *khas-len*, in place of the " spokesman " *kha-ẖdzin*.

27. M.I. xiv, 23 (wood, fragment of a covering tablet, with a cavity for a clay seal ; c. 9 × 2·5 cm. ; ll. 1 *recto*

---

[1] *gyi* crossed out ?

(the addressee) + 3 *verso* of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ || thugs.bde.h̲am.myi.bde.mch . . . [2] Ka.dag. gi . rtse . rje . daṅ . žiṅ . rtsod . pa : rnams . . [3] myur . du . ni . H̲o . nir . mchi . bah̲i . rṅo . myi . . .

[1] "Happy or not happy . . . . [2] the chief lord of Ka-dag and those in dispute concerning the fields. . . . [3] unable to go at once to H̲o-ni."

28. M.I. iv, 101 (wooden tablet, fragmentary; c. 7 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of regular *dbu-can* writing, blurred and barely legible).

[1] ༄ | . | Nob.chen.po.na | blon . . [2] bstu (?). bstus . pa . daṅ . Ka . dag . nas . . .

"In Great Nob Councillor . . . . assembly was assembled and from Ka-dag . . ."

29. M.I. ii, 005 (wooden tablet, fragmentary; c. 17·5 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of small, regular *dbu-can* writing).

[B 2] | Nob.chu.ṅur.khre.khal.gñis.draṅs | Ka.dag. khre . las . Lha . chuṅ . rta . rin . du . kh[r]al.

"To Little Nob two loads of millet were conveyed. From the Ka-dag millet Lha-chuṅ levied for the price of a horse."

Ka-dag was mentioned above (in No. 1, p. 556), and it is further named in M.I. 0077, i, 14; i, 17; iv, 19; xiv, 38, 61*a*; wherein, however, there is no information. In ii, 40 (below, No. 30, p. 569) a courier of Ka-dag is mentioned.

The place was, as we see, a town (*mkhar*) with a watch-tower (*mthoṅ-khyab*) and a chief lord (*rtse-rje*). It seems to have been closely associated with Great and Little Nob, and it was, no doubt, in their neighbourhood. There was a territorial regiment belonging to the district.

VI. Nob-ched-po (Great Nob), Nob-chu-ṅu (Little Nob), Nob-śod (Lower Nob), the H̲o-bh̲og (River Nomads ?) of Little Nob

Concerning Nob and its "three castles", for which we should probably read "three towns" (*mkhar-sum*), information furnished by the documents and elicited by Professor A. H. Francke has been given by Sir Aurel Stein in *Serindia* (pp. 322, 468–9, 1462). The obvious importance of the place or places, especially of Little Nob, which Sir Aurel Stein identifies with Charkalik, may justify a publication in full of the more extensive documents, which also serve to throw light upon the circumstances and life of the time and name some of, no doubt, the leading personages.

30. M.I. ii, 40 (paper, complete; c. 30 × 5 cm.; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, clear).

[1] ༄ | . | blon.H̱phan.po.rjes | | Nob.mkhar.sum. gi . sgyeẖu . ga . rnams . la . spriṅ . ṅo | | bya . dgā . maẖi . thog . ci . ẖdus . pa . daṅ [2] ẖbaṅs . gyi . ñams . daṅ . snams . tshas . gyi . phyi . nas . źib . tu . Stag . G-yu . bzaṅ . Lha . rtsa . skyes . la . spriṅ . ba . yin | | ẖdi . na . gthir . gyur . baṅ . cen [3] riṅs . pa . gchig . Ka . dag . pas . rdzoṅ . śig | |

One or more red seal-impressions.

[1] "Sent by Councillor H̱phan-po-rje to the *sgyeẖu-ga* (bagmen ?) of Nob, the Three Towns. [1–2] Of the revenue of presents, whatever has been collected, and besides (?) the *ñams* and *snams* (defaults and surpluses ?) of the subjects, an exact statement is to be sent later to Stag (Tiger) G-yu-bzaṅ Lha-rtsa-skyes. [2–3] After a rest there (?) send by a swift courier of Ka-dag."

Notes

l. 1. *sgyeẖu-ga*: "bagmen" is a conjecture; see above, p. 561, and cf. *sgyeẖu* "small bag".

Nob-mkhar-sum: Here we have the Three Towns of Nob; so too in M.I. viii, 10, which mentions also the various towers (?) of the town boundary (*mkhar.ris.so.soẖi.rtse*). The next document will mention the Four Towns.

l. 2. *Stag G-yu-bzaṅ*: Evidently the local "general" (*dmag-dpon*), who, as in *JRAS*. 1927, p. 70, would proceed to put pressure on the defaulters.

ẖdi-na-gthir-gyur: Perhaps this means "if there is any question there" (*ẖdi-na* "here" = "there", like *atra* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents) from *gti-ba* "to question". Or perhaps *gthir* comes from *sti* "rest".

l. 3. *Ka-dag*: On this place, see above, pp. 556–7, 565–9.

31. M.I. xiv, 109*b* (paper; c. 29 × 19 cm.; ll. 12 of large, rather coarse, cursive *dbu-can* writing + l. 1 (inverted) in a smaller, neater hand).

[1] daṅ | rtse . rje . Khrom . bżre . Bzaṅ . koṅ . la[spr]i*ṅ* . st[e] | [lan . ẖdiẖi] . st[o]n . sla . ra . ba . tshes . bchus . Nob . chu . ṅur . phyin [2] par . rdzoṅs . śig . par . mjal . pa . las | | ẖphrin . byaṅ . . . . . bsgyaṅ[s] . nas | ẖbrugi . loẖi . ston . zla . ra . [3] tshes . bchu . bdun . [la] . slar . Nob . chu . ṅur . mchis . pa . las | khyo(e ?)*d* . kyi[s] . spri[ṅ] . ba . la | bdag . chag . glo . ba . myi . [4] ches . ste | Pag . tsa . ni . Klu . rtse . ẖi . so . pa . la . gtogs . pas | Myo . ni . lba . tsha . kheṅs . ñi . śu . tsam . gis . Klu . rtser . [5] phyin . par . [gtoṅ] . żes . mchi . nas | [ẖdi . slar . na .] Nob . chu . ṅu . [mkhar . bżi] . klogs . ma . [s]pu . [mdzad] . m[o] [6] mchis . pa . las . thogs . par . gyur . te | lan . ẖdi . ẖi . [sto]n . [zla . ra . baẖi] . tshe[s] . bchu . bdun . la . śul . du [7] żugs | mkhar . bżiẖi : [bla . sṅa . rjeẖi .] ẖphrin . byaṅ . nas . ma . g- . bsṅu . . btags . gi . glo . ba . | myi . ches [8] żes . mchi . ba . daṅ | baṅ . chen . Lda . ka . H̱wa . lwa . rmas . slaṅs | rdzas . ma . skyes . daṅ . tshogsu . . mu . khri . gñi [9] kyis . thabs . bgy[i]s . ste . ru . ba . ma . btaṅ . ba . daṅ | mkhar . bżi . Rma . [sgra] . rje . la . yaṅ . skad . chig . myi . gtaṅ . [10] ẖdi . skad . spriṅ . baẖi . rigs | kho . na . gñis . g[lt]os . żes . baṅ . chen . H̱wa . lwas | rtse . rje . blon . Legs [11] bzaṅ . daṅ . blon . Rma . sgra . daṅ . | lta . *l*astsogs . [tsa . rṅu .] Guṅ . *tshal*. Klus . *ma* . *de* . *sgya* . *ro* . zigs . legs . gyi [12] g-yu(a) . sṅar . bkaẖ . [mchid] . bgyis . ste | żaṅ . lon . rnams . kyi . dphaṅ . rgyas . btab . paẖ [13] bgyis.

Inverted: Lda . ka . Wa . lwa . sug . yig . tshad.

[1] ". . . sent to . . . and the chief lord Khrom-bżer Bzaṅ-koṅ [to the effect that] it should be sent so as to reach Little Nob by the tenth day of the first autumn month of

this year, after the arrival (*bsgyaṅs* ? = *brgyaṅs* 'arrive in haste' ?) . . . of the missive, we on the seventeenth day of the first autumn month of the Dragon year came back to Little Nob. [3–5] We not being satisfied with what you had written, Pag-tsa, who was associated with the Klu-rtse soldiers, and Myo with some twenty arrogant fellows (*lba-tsha* ?), said 'Give us leave to go to Klu-rtse'. [5–6] Later, as a mistress who was with child (*spu-mdzad-mo*) was come to Little Nob, the Four Towns, they waited. [6–8] On the seventeenth day of the first autumn month of this year they took the road and went saying 'We are discontented with . . . . from a missive on the part of the previous chief of the Four Towns.' [8–9] The things required by the courier Lda-ka H̱wa-lwa not having been done and quarrelling with (*one another* ?) . . . . they did not leave even the tent-coverings and sent not a word to Rma-sgra, the chief of the Four Towns. [10] The courier H̱wa-lwa having represented in the presence of the chief lord Councillor Legs-bzaṅ, Councillor Rma-sgra and the rest, the *tsa-rṅu* Guṅ-tshal Klus-ma-de and the *sgya-ro* Zigs-legs that 'This ought to be reported. Those two should be looked after', the Uncle-Ministers caused their signatures to be attached."

Inverted: "Hand-signature of Lda-ka Wa-lba."

Notes

l. 4. *Pag-tsa*: This is perhaps for *Pa-tsab*, which occurs in M.I. viii, 53; xiv, 34; M. Tagh. 0583, c. iii, 009, p. 583 below, and often in the *Bstan-ẖgyur* colophons.

Klu-rtse: See below, p. 587.

l. 5. *mkhar-bži*: The Four Towns of Nob.

l. 11. *tsa-rṅu*: Probably an official title; see above, p. 563.

l. 13. *sug-yig-tshad*: This phrase has occurred before, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 814.

32. M.I. iv, 93*b* (paper; c. 28 × 11 cm.; discoloured; ll. 10 of black, ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | | yos . bu . loẖi . dpyid . Nob . chuṅuhi . rje . żiṅ . bżeṅs . kha . lṅar . bgyis . te | żiṅ . pa . myi . graṅs . kyis . | bgo . bar | bkā . g[r]os [2] chad . nas | dbaṅ . po . daṅ . żiṅ . ẖgod . kyi . riṅ . lugs . kyis . sug . las . ẖtshal . baẖi . rtsis . mgo . myiṅ . smrar . bris . pa | [3] ༄ | | dbaṅ . thaṅ . can . daṅ | gtan . żiṅ . daṅ . ra . śul . gcig . kyaṅ . myi . brtsan . te | żiṅ . [*cuṅ . sna*] . myi . graṅs . kyis . [bgo] [4] [bar] . chad(n) | thoṅ . bros . [daṅ . b]żeṅs . dral . bgyid . du . gcig . kyaṅ . myi . gnaṅ . ste | bżeṅs . kha . lṅar . bcad . nas . [5] bżeṅs . ẖtshams . tho . rgya . can . du . bgyi . | | rtsis . mgo . las . ẖgal . te | bżeṅs . d[ra]l . daṅ . thoṅ . bros . bgyis . [6] pa . żig . mchis . na | żiṅ . byeẖu . non . du . bgyis . te | thog . blar . bsdu | dṅos . chad . pa . riṅ . res . gcig . gis . gcad . | | soso [7] żiṅ . paẖi . my[i] . graṅs . glu . yig . tu . bgyis . na . mkhar . ris . kyi . dpon . sna . la . gtan | log . gcod . pa . daṅ . chab . [8] skam . bgyid . pa . daṅ . | dpon . kha . slog . pa . daṅ | btsan . sbyur (sṅur) . ẖdod . pa . żig . mchis . na | | sṅon . gyi . mkhar . khrims [9] rñiṅ . bżin . ẖtshol . cig | | żaṅ . lon . [ched] . po . blon . Dge . bzaṅ . daṅ | | blon . Btsan . la . ẖphan . | [ẖdi] [10] rnams . g[sa]r . [du] . ẖdzugs . śiṅ . lo[g] . mar . gyur . pas | [rtse . rje . Dpe . gżan . daṅ . Mṅa . ber (btser ? bder ? bżer ?) . bar . śiṅ (żiṅ ?) . dar]

Verso : bco . [lṅa] . bco . lṅa . dam . śib . [la]s . rtsal . cig . | |

[1] " In the summer of the Hare year the lord's land in Little Nob was made into four partitions. [1–2] Counsel was taken to divide the tillers numerically ; and the total of owners and of those who desired work according to the old usage of the land settlement was written down with mention of the names. [3–4] No persons having rights, or agreed lands, or remains of enclosure being confirmed, it was decided to divide the people of the various small lands numerically. [4–5] None being allowed to abandon the plough or to break open the partition, the division was made into five partitions, and the partition boundaries are to be furnished with boundary marks. [5–6] In case of any falling off from the total or of any persons breaking open

the partition or abandoning the plough, thereby violating the division of the tillage, they are to be brought in to the superiors (? *thog-blar-bsdu* ? the yield is to be raised ?). Fines were fixed at rates for the several cases. [6–7] The number of men of the several fields was made into a song and committed to the chief officers of the town boundary. [7–9] If any should be recalcitrant or cause the water to dry up or disregard the officers or desire to alter (*sbyur* ?) what had been fixed, procedure should be according to the old town (fort) law of former times. [9–10] Great Uncle-Councillor Dge-bzaṅ and Councillor Btsan-la-ḫphan—these, who were at first appointed, having gone back down, the chief Lord Dpe-gźan and . . . *continued the work.*"

Verso : "Send by fifteens according to a fixed reckoning (*dam-śib-las* ?)."

Notes

l. 2. *źiṅ-ḫgod* : "Settling the land" ; the phrase has been noted above, p. 560. *Rje-źiṅ*, pp. 562, 464.

l. 3. *gtan-źiṅ* : = "fixed field" or "established agreement" ? The phrase recurs below, No. 33.

ll. 2 and 5. *rtsis-mgo* : "Total" ; see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 81, and M.I. viii, 64*b*.

l. 5. *tho-rgya* : = "boundary mark", occurs in other documents (Ch. 79, xiv, 5, etc.).

l. 7. *mkhar-ris* : "Town-boundary" ; cf. p. 569.

33. M.I. xliv, 2 (wooden tablet, c. 13·5 × 2 cm., fragmentary at left ; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . gyas.te || dby[aṅ.th]aṅ.can.daṅ.gtan.źiṅ.gi. rnams [2] . . . log.źiṅ.du.bgos.pa.lags | do.cig.ni | skran [3] . . -r | chun . pa . dag (dgu ?) . bśugs . pas . . . [B 1] . . [mkh]ar . Nob . ched . po . -is (?) . rje . źiṅ || gi · mgo . . . n . ni . . [B 2] . . | thebs . pa . daṅ | Nob . chuṅ . ṅu[ḫi] . yul . myi . bśugs . pa

[1] . . . "persons having rights and fixed fields . . . .

[2] divided into . . fields. Some two were *summoned* (?) . . . [B 1] the lord's land of Great Nob [B 2] the people settled in Little Nob."

Notes

This document has points of similarity to the preceding, e.g. in the phrases *db*(*y*)*aṅ-thaṅ-can* and *gtan-żiṅ*.

l. B 1. *rje-żiṅ* : "Lord's land" ; see pp. 562, 564, above.

34. M.I. xiv, 109*a* (paper ; c. 29 × 17 cm. ; smudged and discoloured ; ll. 10 of large, rather cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | sbrul . gyi . loẖi . dbyar . blon . Maṅ . zi[gs] . lastsogs . pas || khrom . gyi . ẖdun . sa . Gtsos . mo . gliṅ [2] du . btab . paẖi . lan . la || mṅan . gyi . ẖbaṅs . st[eṅ . bor .] Legs . snaṅ . las || H̱or . Baṅ . Gsas . byin . gyis [3] yib . ma . thub . paẖi . g-yag . sdiṅ . gchig . [ẖgrisdiṅ] . gñis . ste | Ko . ẖgoṅ . rtug . daṅ . sgal . dra . ma . mchis . pa . rad [4] gsum . mjald . te || ẖjal . baẖi . dus . ni . lan . ẖdi . ẖi . ston . zla . śol . bor . baẖi . ston . zla . ẖbriṅ . po . tshes | [5] lṅa . la | Nob . chuṅur . ẖbul . bar . bgyis | dusu . ma . phul . ẖam | dpaṅ . rgya . las . ẖbyuṅ . baẖi . tshad . ma . thub . par [6] gyur . na || gyur . te . Ko . ẖgoṅ . rab . drug . ẖam | rin . bla [gla] . thaṅ . du . myi . sbyor . te | ẖog . tshoṅs . kyi . thaṅ . du . dus . suṃ [7] gyi . dpaṅ . rgya . myi . ẖtshal . bar || Legs . snaṅ . daṅ | khas . len . po . ṅan . Ldoṅ . koṅ . gñis . kyi . sug . gżi . la [8] gaṅ . mchis . paẖi . skor | nor . phyugs . daṅ . nas . bra[s] . chi . la . bab . kyaṅ . ruṅ . ste | bzuṅ . na . yaṅ . yus . myi . yal [9] bar . bgyis . paẖi . dpaṅ . la | rgyal . zigs . Legs . rtsan . daṅ . ʼrtsig . Lha . rtsa . skyes . daṅ | [10] gyi . [dpa]ṅ . rgya . dan | [kh]o[n] . ta . gñis . kyi . sug . rgya . daṅ . sug . yig . tshad . kyis . btab . pā

[1–2] "In reply to the despatch of Councillor Maṅ-zigs and the rest in the summer of the Snake year, at the mart (town) assembly place, Gtsos-mo-gliṅ. [2–5] There having arrived from the government servant (*mṅan-gyi-ẖbaṅs*) Steṅ-bor Legs-snaṅ three travelling parties, the Hor Baṅ and Gsas with a *g-yag-sdiṅ* (?) and two *ẖgri-sdiṅ* (?) hidden and not to be found, and Ko-ẖgoṅ without a *rtug* (?) and a *sgal-dra* (load-net ?), the time for making payment is the fifth day of the middle autumn month, being the intercalary autumn month, of the present year. [5–7] Delivery is arranged to be at Little Nob. If delivery is not made at the time or does not reach the amount arising from the attested signature, *or* if it does, *but* Ko-ẖgoṅ, not showing agreement in proportion to the six kinds and the prices, does not furnish an attested signature of the three times (i.e. a bill payable at sight) up to the value of the missing merchandize (?), [7–9] then whatever belongings there may be in the hands of Legs-snaṅ and his guarantor, Ṅan Ldoṅ-koṅ, property, cattle and barley and fruit, wherever found, may be seized without right of complaint: [9–10] in attestation whereof the attestation seals of the 'royal eye' (*rgyal-zigs* = *rāja-cakṣuḥ*) Legs-rtsan and the *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes and . . . and the hand-marks and hand-signatures of those two are attached."

Notes

The translation is in a few points uncertain or even conjectural. The general sense is that three persons are conveying merchandize from Legs-snaṅ, to be delivered in Little Nob. In case of failure of delivery in time or in the right quantities or with bills for what is deficient Legs-snan and his guarantor may have their whole property seized without right to bring a suit. The agreement is signed by a government overseer, a lawyer (?), and the two persons concerned. The gap in line 9, for a missing name, shows that the document is a draft only.

l. 1. *khrom-gyi-ẖdun-sa*: Concerning these assemblies see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 70.

Gtsos-mo-gliṅ: The place is not otherwise known.

l. 2. *mṅan-gyi-ẖbaṅs*: See above, p. 556.

Hor: A Turk.

l. 3. *g-yag-sdiṅ*, *ẖgri-sdiṅ*: Is *sdiṅ* = *rtiṅ* "tail" or "end"; *ẖgri* may be for *ẖbri* "female yak".

rad : "Caravan" (?), has been already noted (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 820). Elsewhere we have the expression *rad-gos* "travelling-clothes".

l. 6. *ẖog-tshoṅs* : "Missing merchandize" or "merchandize sold below" ?

l. 9. *rtsig* : Possibly this means "a lawyer"; the same *rtsig* Lha-rtsha-skyes is mentioned in another legal agreement (M.I. xiv, 24).

l. 10. *sug-yig-tshad* : See *JRAS.* 1927, p. 814.

35. M.I. xliv, 7 (paper; c. 31·5 × 9 cm.; ll. 9 of neat, commonplace *dbu-can* script; red impressions of six or more seals).

[1] ༄ | | *phag* . gi . lo . la | | żaṅ . lon . chen . po . blon . Dpal . bzaṅ . gi . khrom . Nob . chu . ṅur . btab . paẖi . [lan . la] | | Rgod . tsaṅ . stod . kyi . sde . | sṅon . skya . boẖi . tshe | | H̱u . taṅ . Gsas . chuṅ . żes . bgyi [2] tha . *mar* . żugs . nas | mtshan . Byaṅ . cub . bkra . śis . las | | Gños . H̱o . ses . bran . Pho . b[ts]o[n] . . rgya . rgyud . las . myi . rma . ba | | sug . yig . las . rgya . Phu . tsba . ces . bgyi . ba . dguṅ . [3] lo . lṅa . bcu . tsam . lon . ba | | sṅon . dmag . byuṅs . gcig . gi . bar . du . yaṅ . | | ban . de . rje . gol . gyi . . . . H̱o . ses bgyiste | | H̱o . se . la . gnas . śiṅ . ẖkhol . ba | | lo . lan . ẖdi . la | [4] H̱o . ses . gthan . du . mjal . te | | rin . dmar . sraṅ . brgyad . kyaṅ . ẖphral . du | | ban . de . la . tshaṅ . bar . stsald | | Phu . tsab . ẖdi . gthan . du . H̱o . se . dbaṅ . ba . la | | żal . mchu . tha . sñad . ẖdogs . [5] pa . żig . byuṅste | brgyaẖ . la . Phu . tsab . ṅos . śor . par . gyur . na || żal . mchu . ci . byuṅ . ba . yaṅ | ban . de . mchi[d . gyi]s . ẖtshal . bar . bgyis . paẖi . steṅ . du . bran . ẖdi . tsam . pod . pa . gcig . kyaṅ [6] ẖphral . du . gthan . tshigs . ẖdi . su . ẖchaṅ . ba . la | | ban . des . ẖphral . du . ẖbul . bar . bgyis | | ban . de . ma . mchis . na . khas . len | | dam . goṅ . nas [7] ẖbyuṅ . baẖi . rnams . mchid . kyis . ẖtshal . bar . bgyis . paẖi . dpaṅ . la | | blon . Stag . sgra | rtse . rje . blon . Stag . Stag . rtsan | | blon . Dpal . bzaṅ . . [Dge] . rje | blon . Dge [8] bżer . Lha . ẖbrug . brtsan | | żiṅ . pon . Stag·. bzaṅ . Lha . spe .

Ldoṅ . phreṅ . Mdo . goṅ | lastsogs . paẖi . dpaṅ . rgya . daṅ | —— d . daṅ . khas . len [9] gyi . sug . rgyas . btab . pā ||

Smudges of Seals. Verso : Phu . tsab . kyi . dpaṅ . rgya. .

[1] "In the . . . year, in reply to the despatch of the great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Dpal-bzaṅ, at the mart of Little Nob. [1–3] From a person of the Rgod-tsaṅ upper district, who previously, when a layman, was called H̱u-taṅ Gsas-chuṅ, but after entering the community was named Byaṅ-cub-bkra-śis (Bodhimaṅgala), Gños H̱o-se [had hired] a servant stated to be Pho-btson, a man of . . . Chinese family, but in his letters named the Chinaman Phu-tsab, aged about fifty years. [3] Ever since the arrival of an army in old days, the *bande* having been made by H̱o-se . . . of the lord's land (?), he had been in service with H̱o-se. [3–4] In the present year H̱o-se, having come to an agreement, the price being eight red *sraṅ*, sent it forthwith to the *bande* in full. [4–5] Phu-tsab, while according to this agreement under the authority of H̱o-se, became involved in a dispute at law and, being defeated (?), ran away *to this* side. [5–6] After the *bande* had caused a demand by letter to be made as to what the dispute was, it has been arranged that the *bande* should at once give an equally capable servant to whoever is in possession of this agreement. [6–7] In case the *bande* does not come, it has been arranged that his guarantor shall send by letter all that results from the above decision; [7–9] in evidence whereof the attestation marks of Councillor Stag-sgra, the head and lord Councillor Stag Stag-rtsan, Councillor Dpal-bzaṅ-po Dge-rje, Councillor Dge-bžer Lha H̱brug-brtsan, the farmers Stag-bzaṅ, Lha-spe, Ldoṅ-phreṅ, Mdo-goṅ, and others and the written signatures (hand-marks) of [the *bande*] and the guarantor are attached."

Verso : "Attestation mark of Phu-tsab."

Notes

The case seems to be that a certain *bande*, Byaṅ-cub-bkra-śis, hired out his slave Phu-tsab, a Chinaman, to a person Gños Ho-se in Ho-se (?), who paid a sum in composition for the slave's services. The slave became involved in legal trouble and fled away to his old master, who after inquiring into the matter engages to compensate Gños Ho-se either by a substitute or otherwise. The signature of Phu-tsab on the *verso* proves that he was with his old owner, the *bande*.

l. 1. *Rgod-tsaṅ-stod-kyi-sde*: Concerning this district see above, pp. 561–4.

skya-bo: An ordinary man or layman.

l. 2. *thar*-mar-*žugs-nas*: The reading ma*r* is partly conjectural; the sense must be that of "having become a monk".

Ho-se: A Chinese place-name, "West of the river," used as the name of the person.

Pho-btson: The name has occurred before, *JRAS*. 1927, p. 828.

l. 3. *rje-gol*: This must be some agricultural designation, since in another document (vol. liii, fol. 37) we have the phrase *rje-gol-skya-bcu* "*rje-gol* ten crops".

Phu-tsba: Compendious for *Phu-tsab*.

l. 4. *žal-mchu*: Perhaps only apparently = "face-lip". In the sense clearly of a dispute it occurs in a very analogous document from Tun-huang, appended *infra*, pp. 592–4.

tha-sñad = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* "affair".

l. 5. *brgya-la*: Apparently = *brgyal-la*, but in the sense of being the loser, recurs similarly in the above-mentioned document (*infra*, p. 594).

steṅ-du: "After"; see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 79.

pod-pa: = *phod-pa* "capable".

l. 6. —— *khas-len*: The gap is, no doubt, for the insertion of the name, as in European legal drafts.

dam-goṅ-nas-ẖbyuṅ-baẖi-rnams: "The things ensuing from the above decision" recurs in the mentioned document (*infra*, p. 594).

36. M.I. xliv, 0013 (paper fragment, torn and showing gaps; c. 22 × 9 cm.; ll. 4 of cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] | [b]dag . mkh(r)ar . goṅ . nas . . . . [2] . . .

[phya]g . rgya . p[h]o[g . ste] | żiṅ . ẖgod . kyi . riṅ . lugs . daṅ.mkhar.bżi.bla.daṅ | Nob.che . . . [3] . . . Ho-ses. gsol . baẖ | bda[g] . [ca]g . Nob . chuṅu . paẖi . sdum . pa . sar . | Nob . ched . po . . . .

"Sent, seal attached, from the upper (eastern ?) town, petition of Ho-se to the messenger of the farm-settlement and the . . . four chief towns (or heads of the four towns and . . . Great Nob. . . . Petition of Ho-se. I at my family residence in Little Nob . . . Great Nob."

Notes

l. 2. *żiṅ-ẖgod* : See above, pp. 560, 573.

l. 3. *sdum-pa-sar* : *sdum-pa* has occurred above, p. 566. On *sar* see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 558.

37. M.I. xxx, 8 (paper, nearly complete ; c. 28 × 75 cm. ; ll. 9 *recto* + 6 *verso* (five in a different hand) of neat *dbu-can* writing, rather closely packed and in parts illegible).

[1] [༄ | . | —] sgre . gaṅ . sgra . la | | Khrom . koṅ . gyi . mchid . gsol . baẖ | | mchid . kyis . rmas . na . thugs . bdeẖ . żes . [g-yar] . tu . thos [2] te . glo . ba . dgaẖ . żiṅ . mchis . na | | bar . du . thugs . bdeẖam . myi . bdeẖ . sñun . gsol . żiṅ . mchis . na . bkaẖ . stsald . par . gsol | | [ph]o . braṅ . na . sṅa . sla*r* [3] pho . ña . daṅ . [ẖdrul] . ba . mchis . pa[ẖi] . bkaẖ . mchid . [daṅ ?] . yul . phyogs . thaṅ (?) | | | żo . co . Zla . bżer . gyi . ża . sṅar . ched . myi . nad . phyugs . nad . lo (?) [4] ma . mchis . . . . | mdad(?) . daṅ . baṅ (?) . soẖi . [rkye]n . ru . yaṅ . lag . smad . man . chad . la | drug . rkya . gchig . la . dṅul . sraṅ . drug . las . [ma] . bab . dgun [5] tshun . chad . [spun] . dmag . myi . ẖthu | żes . mchi | Skal . ẖkhar . gyi . yi . geẖ . pho . braṅ . na . tshal . ża . bgyid . pa . ma . mchis | | Khrom . [bżer ?] . gyi . bkaẖ . mchid . ni [6] blon . Kri (Khri ?) . rma . las . chi . gstsan . pa . tsham . du . baẖs | | mchid . yi . ge . ẖdi . spriṅ . ba . tsham . na . Mdo . blon . sa . nas . | ẖphar . ma . sum . rol . dgu . tshod . chig . mchis . paẖ [7] la | Naṅ . goṅ . nas . myi . bol . dag . chig . mchis . pa . ẖdi . ba (?) | smad . nas . [rjes .

su . gro . kyaṅ ?] . žes . ni . mchi | gdaṅ . gsol . du . nuṅ . ḫchad . myi . gdaḫ | blon . Maṅ [8] zigs . la . gtad . ni . dṅos . kyis . gsal . pa . lags . te . gnaṅ | śi . sos . kyi . [gla] . dgra . chud . ma . ḫtshal . bar . gyis . śig . par . ḫdrul . ba . las . bkaḫ . nan . ma [9] mdzad . par . gyis . la || ḫdi . dag . tu . yaṅ . stsaṅ . lo . dgra . nos . pas | [bas . ma] . skyes . kyaṅ . ston . sṅa . ḫthon . tu . Nob . [śod] . phyogsu . gtaṅ . bar [B 1] ḫtshal . na . | Rmaṅ . cuṅ . gyi . sug . las . kyaṅ . Nob . śod . phyi . ma [1] . yan . man . tu . mchis . pa . ltar . bgyis . śiṅ . mchis ||

(The remaining text (inverted) is a letter, in a different hand, from Rmaṅ-la-skyes and Stag-slebs to Jo-bo Zla-bžer.)

[1–2] "To . . sgre-gaṅ-sgra: letter-petition of Khrom-koṅ. I was glad to have heard above that, as a letter stated, *you* were happy. Begging to inquire whether in the interval *you have been* happy or not happy, I beg *you* to send *your* commands. [2–5] Report of messengers and missives received in the residence, first and last, and of the district [news]. With the magistrate Zla-bžer there is tidings [*ched* ?] that disease of men and disease of cattle have not ceased (?). . . . In the property of monuments (?) and tombs, down to minor establishments, out of some six crops not more than six *sraṅ* of silver has been levied. Before winter an army of brethren cannot assemble. [5–6] Letter of [from ?] Skal-ḫkhar: In the residence there is nothing to eat. As for a letter of Khrom-bžer, what has . . . . . from Councillor Khri-rma, need only be mentioned. [6–8] At the moment of sending this letter there have come from the residence of the Councillor of Mdo three despatches to the extent of nine sides. He states that from Naṅ-goṅ plenty of men have come: from Smad it is the same. There is nothing to report to *your* divan. Thanks for making now clear what has been sent to Councillor Maṅ-zigs. [8–B 1] As regards stringent orders not having been sent by letter that at the price of life and death the enemy should not be allowed to penetrate, among the people here also, not content with the year's grain having been taken by the enemy, as soon as autumn arrives it is desired to let them in on the Nob-śod side. Rmaṅ-cuṅ's handiwork (*or* tidings ?) has abundantly come to Nob-śod—so it has been made to appear."

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[1] *phyi.ma* is crossed out.

Notes

The document reports the substance of news from various sources and not of a cheering character : an epidemic among men and cattle, want of money and food, scarcity of men for the army, encroachment of "the enemy". The places named are Skal-ẖkhar, which sounds like Khalkha (if conditions of time and place allow), and Mdo, which is clearly Mdo-khams. Who "the enemy" are does not appear. The translation is in part uncertain.

l. 3. *ched* : This seems to mean "tidings".

l. 4. *mdad* : In the sense of a monument to the dead the word occurs in the *Chronicle*, ll. 32, 116.

rkyen = "property" (?). Cf. 1927, p. 837. It seems as if the property of the tombs and monuments was being called into use.

l. 5. *spun-dmag* : "Army of brethren," i.e. of monks (?).

l. 6. *ẖphar-ma* : "Missive" occurs in M. Tagh., *b*, ii, 0035 ; *c*. iii, 0025, etc.

rol-dgu : "Nine sides" of paper or wood ?

l. 7. *Naṅ-goṅ* : This might mean "Eastern or Upper Naṅ".

Smad : No doubt = Mdo-smad.

l. 8. *śi-sos-kyi-gla* : "Wages of being saved from death."

l. B 1. *sug-las* : This might also mean "tidings".

38. M.I. xxviii, 002 (paper, discoloured and torn ; c. 28 × 34 cm. ; ll. 19 of rather cursive and scrawled *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | : | sbrul . gyi . loẖi . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . gnam . stoṅ . gi . gdugs . la . | rtre . rje . blon . Ju . cu[g] . daṅ . [2] żaṅ . blon . skyaṅ . po . Dbye (Drṅe ?) . rma . las . bsogs .

pah̲i . g-yar . sṅar . | yus . bdag . Paṅ . tshab . Rbeg [3] chuṅ . daṅ . ldoṅ . phraṅ . Spra . h̲u . koṅ . gis | riṅ . lus . kyis | Rlaṅ . spun . po . spun . daṅ . sṅon [4] po . spun . daṅ . phyir (phyis) . spu . Klu . h̲dus . daṅ . daṅ . H̲be . Myes . mthoṅ . daṅ . Rlaṅ . phran . H̲phan . legs [5] la . stsogs . pah̲ | glar . bkug . nas | yus . bdag . Rbe . chuṅ . la . stsogs . pah̲ . mchid . nas | [6] bdag . cag . Nob . chu . ṅu . nas | Hor . gyi . mjug . stog . ltaṅ . sogs . brgyad . puṅ . cha . gcig | [7] btus . ste . Nob . ched . por . mchis . pa . daṅ . rtse . rje . las . śiṅ . thun . [m]yi . h̲gah̲ . gyar . po . bgyis . pa [8] las | śi . thun . gyi . myi . ni . ma . mchis . slad . rol . khaṅ . rul . śeg . żig . żes . mchi . nas | bdag . [9] gñis . kyis . kyi . khaṅ . ru[l] . gcig . bśegs . pa . las | khoṅ . ta . goṅ . na . [sm]o[s] . pa . myi . lṅa . log . nas [10] bdag . cag . gñis . [kh]ye . [tsho]gs | gbug (gbrug ? gṅug ?) . dub . gi . khar . bsdegs . nas | [th*ab*s] . gum . tsam . bgyis [11] pah̲ | bdag . ṅan . [pa] . da . lta . ṅan . ṅon . khar . ba . bgo . la . chags . ste . mchid . yu[s] . [rtso]d . . . h̲di . [it . .] [12] — Spra . h̲u . koṅ . ni . da . du . spo . na . mchis . ñel | bdag . gñis . la . stoṅ . sde . gñis . my[i] . rje . -o — s [13] daṅ . bdag . cag . bka . luṅ . stsal . te | dka[1] . blas . la . mchi . bah̲ | bkah̲ . luṅ . sun . phyuṅ[s] [14] bdag . [c]ag . sma . phag | khrims . gaṅ . taṅ . h̲byor . pa . bla . ched . po . man . chad . gsol . żiṅ . brtsad [15] h̲tshal . na . ña . khrims . bżin . bskron . te . dum (?) . ba . gdab . par . gsol . żes . mchi . nas[2] | khoṅ . ta . rna[ms] [16] . . .[3] | | kyi . gñah̲i . myiṅ . rus . la | H̲greṅ . ro . Klu . brtan | Khu . Stag . chuṅ . daṅ | [17] So . nam . legs | Rum (Tum ?) . Mtsho . brtsan | H̲briṅ . h̲brug . Spe | Dru . gu . Lha . legs . rnams [18] kyi . gña . rgya . daṅ . riṅ . lugs . daṅ . dpaṅ . chen . daṅ . khon . tah̲ . rnams . kyi . sug . rgyah̲ . btab . pah̲ . [19] gra . dus . ni . dbyar . sla . h̲briṅ . poh̲i . ṅo . la . mchid .[4] . śagsu . h̲tshal . par . bgyis | |

Five seals illegible.

---

[1] *h̲* erased.

[2] *nas* below the line.

[3] *pah̲i . mchid . nas* is here crossed out.

[4] *ḳu* here crossed out.

[1–2] "On the new-moon day of the first spring month of the Snake year, in the presence of the chief lord, Councillor Ju-cug, and the Uncle-Councillor *Skyaṅ-po* Dbye-rma and the rest. [2–5] The complainants, Paṅ-tsab Rbeg-chuṅ and Ldoṅ-phraṅ Spra-ẖu-koṅ, having by messenger engaged on hire the Rlaṅ eldest (?) brother and elder brother and younger brother Klu-ẖdus and H̱be Myes-mthoṅ and Rlaṅ-phran H̱phan-legs and others, the complainants Rbe[g]-chuṅ and the rest write: [5–7] We, having from Little Nob assembled a company of eight porters . . . . . . of the Turks, came to Great Nob. [7–10] Having from the chief lord procured the hire of some stick-gatherers and the stick-gatherers not having come, we were told to break down a ruined house outside. When we two had broken down a ruined house, the five above-mentioned persons, at a time when the children were tired . . . . . came upon us and ill-treated us almost to the point of death. [11–12] With the sordid . . . . clinging to our garments (?) we humble persons make complaint by letter as follows: [12–14] Spra-ẖu-koṅ during his removal here fell ill. The two Stoṅ-sdes not . . . . to us and sending us to the Bkaẖ-luṅ, we went to the distinguished Dkaẖ (*sic*). The Bkaẖ-luṅ was biassed and abused us. [14–15] 'Law you can have, if you like. In case you desire to complain by petition up to the great Lama (? *bla*), pray take care to summon (?) witnesses according to law. [15–18] As to the names and families of their witnesses, they are H̱greṅ-ro Klu-brtan, Klu Stag-chuṅ and So-nam-legs, Rum Mtsho-brtsan, H̱briṅ-ẖbrug Spe, Dru-gu Lha-legs, whose attestation marks and the hand-signatures of the messenger, the courier and of those persons are attached. [19] The seminary assembly has been called by letter for the beginning of the middle summer month."

Notes

l. 1. *Skyaṅ-po*: See p. 562.

l. 2. *Paṅ-tsab*: See above, p. 571.

l. 3. *Rlaṅ*: This is, no doubt, a local name, and the *Rlaṅ-phran* below is "the little Rlaṅ". In M.I. iv, 105, is named a Rlaṅ Klu-stod, and in M. Tagh., c. iv, 0035, we have mention of a Rlaṅ district or regiment (*sde*). The three brothers seem all to have been named Klu-ḫdus, whence the manner in which they are particularized.

l. 6. *Hor-gyi-mjug-stog*: Is *mjug-stog* for *ḫjug-ldog*, which seems to have the sense of "obstacles" (= "protection against ?") ? But *mjug* occurs elsewhere (= "rear" ?).

l. 8. *slad-rol*: "Outside," as in M.I. xxviii, 0023, *skun-kar-gyi-slad-rol* "outside the fort". The ruined house was perhaps to be torn down for firewood.

ll. 12–13. *stoṅ-sde . . . bkaḫ-luṅ*: "Thousand District" and "Command" seem to be used for the respective officials.

l. 14. *gaṅ-t(ḫ)aṅ*: "As much as you like" ?

l. 15. *dum-ba*: = *dun-pa* ?

l. 17. *Ḫgreṅ-ro*: See above, pp. 86–7.

l. 18. *riṅ-lugs*: = *riṅ-lus* of l. 3; cf. *JRAS*. 1927, p. 66.

l. 19. *gra-dus*: "Seminary assembly," no doubt for the trial. See p. 567.

39. M.I. i, 27 (paper fragment, right hand; c. 17 × 16·5 cm.; ll. 4 of rather clear, faint *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . žaṅ . lon . chen . po . žaṅ . Btsan . sum . sgras | [2] Nob . cuṅuhi . rtse . rje . rnams . la . spriṅ . ṅo || [3] *dpen* . paḫi . žo . śa . cher . ḫbul . ba . daṅ || khams . rgyud . mar [4] . . . dgaḫr || Nob . cuṅuhi . mṅan . slaṅs . daṅ . tshas . . .

[1–2] "Sent by the great Uncle-Minister Uncle Btsan-sum-sgra to the chief lords of Little Nob. [3] The liberal present of an useful contribution and . . . [4] . . glad. The government demands of Little Nob and . . ."

Notes

l. 3. *dpen-paḫi-žo-śa*: On this phrase see *JRAS*. 1927 p. 75 n. *žo-śa-cher-bul* recurs in M.I. x, 3.

40. M.I. iv, 138 (wooden tablet, partly broken away at left; c. 15·5 × 2·5 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | | Nob . cu . ṅu . ẖi . rtse . bla . daṅ . rtse . sman . la | | yos . bu . loẖi [2] sp[y]id . sla . ra . ba . la | | sku . blaẖi . bres | skid (snid ? sdud ?) . bžiṅ . bzaṅs [B 1] . . . gsol . te | lag (leg ? dag ?) . dgra . daṅ | sogs . mcin . la [B 2] sman . bris . paẖi . gñer . ẖsus (ẖyus ?) | |

[1] "To the head Lama (?) and head physician of Little Nob: In the first spring month of the Hare year. Begging . . . . . . request the attention of writing a prescription for *lag-dgra* (?) and *sogs-mcin* (retention of urine ? *gsog-gcin*)."

Note

It seems as if there were in Little Nob an official "head physician".

41. M.I. xiii, 12 (paper, smudged and discoloured; c. 30 × 8 cm.; ll. 6 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | jo . co . Btshan . ta . daṅ | Klu . sgra . la | | yul . mthoṅ . gi . mchid . gsol . ba | | slar . yaṅ . sñan . sñuṅs . gsol . pa . [2] [l]ags | Nob . ched . poẖi . Rtse . rgod . kyi . lo . taṅ . phul . baẖi . bul | Lha . -hi . l- . nod . ciṅ . mchisna | bul . stsald . par . gsol | [3] bdag . cag . gi . lo . taṅ . c i. lus . pa . daṅ | boṅ . bu(?) . rgyag | li . bal . pha . re . gaṅ . žig | ẖdi . rnams . śul . du . ẖbul . bar | | [4] blon . Lha . bzaṅ . la . yaṅ . gsol . te | spu . bal . ci . ma . phul . ba | ẖdi . bžin . lhag . tshad . ma . mchis | [5] su . la . žiṅ . mchis . na | | bdag . gi . sug . rgya . yaṅ | | dṅos . gyis . gsold . pa . lags . na | de . las . thugs . [6] mdzad . du . gsol.

Verso: ༄ | . | Nob . ched . poẖi . byi . ba . loẖi . lo . taṅ |

[1–2] "To the magistrates Btshan-ta and Klu-sgra: letter petition of the land-overseer. Then he inquires as to your health. [2] In case the receipt for the delivery of the year-levy from Rtse-rgod in Great Nob has come to *your* lord*ship's hands*, despatch of the receipt is requested. [3–4] What remained of our year-levy, ass, yak, bell-metal, wool (or Khotanese and Nepalese, *Li-Bal-pha*), whatever there was in each case, these in residue I am requesting Councillor Lha-bzań to supply. [4–5] Of hair and wool there is thus with no one any not delivered remainder. [5] My own signature also I beg now to submit. Attention is requested accordingly."

Verso: "Year-levy of Great Nob for the Mouse year."

Notes

l. 2. *Rtse-rgod*: "Summit Rgod" is probably a part of Rgod concerning which see above, p. 561–4. It is curious that *rtse-rgod* may mean also "mirth and laughter", as *supra*, p. 566.

l. 3. *li-bal-pha-re-gań-żig*: I have taken *re-gań-żig* as = "whatever there was in each case". But the whole phrase is rather puzzling; compare M.I. xiv, 59, *bal-pho-re-gań-żig*, and xxi, 1, *phyiń-rgyu-bal-pho-re-gań*.

Summarizing, we may mention in regard to Little Nob that we hear of its "chief lord" (*rtse-rje*, M.I. vii, 27, 76; xiv, 0027; xxvi, 13; xxxii, 13), of its *mgo-rnon* (M.I. vii, 27; x, 3), of its "foreign councillor" (*dgra-blon*, M.I. xxvii, 7), of its "regional chiefs" (*ńos-pon*, M.I. xxvii, 7), and its "chief Lama" and "chief physician" (M.I. iv, 138). It is called a "town" (*mkhar*, M.I. xliv, 005) and a "mart" (*khrom*, M.I. xliv, 7). We hear of the "Three Towns" and also of the "Four Towns". Great Nob is a "town" (*mkhar*, M.I. xliv, 2), and it has a "chief lord" (*rtse-rje*, M.I. x, 2, 3, 9; vii, 27) and "lord's land" (*rje-żiń*, M.I. xliv, 2). Sometimes we hear of the "chief lord of Great and Little Nob" (M.I. vii, 27).

VI. NOB-ŚOD (Lower Nob), KLU-RTSE, G-YUN-DRUN-RTSE

42. M.I. i, 24 (paper fragment; c. 11 × 17 cm.; much torn and badly smudged; ll. 17 (?) *recto* + 8 (?) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing, barely legible).

[A 5] gñer . gyi . khuṃsu . myi . ruṅste
[A 9] khrom . Der (?) . ẖa . ra . tshun . cad . skad . sbyi . . .
[A 13] Mdo . sgral . steṅ . du
[A 14] Klu . rtseẖi . ẖphar . phyogs . daṅ
[B 3] Nob . śod . na . [phyu]
[B 6] Nob . chu . ṅu . yaṅ.

[A 5] "Not proper to perform"
[A 9] "As far as the mart Der-ẖa-ra a rumour"
[A 13] "Up to Mdo-sgral."
[A 14] "beyond Klu-rtse"
[B 3] "in Lower Nob"
[B 6] "Little Nob also."

Note

Concerning Der-ẖa-ra and Mdo-sgral we have no information. Klu-rtse is mentioned p. 571 above and in—

43. M.I. xxviii, 0021.

༄ | | Klu . rtse . chu . myig . gyi . tshugs . po[n] [2] Rtsaṅ . Spe . sme.

"Rtsaṅ Spe-sme, captain of the Spring of Klu-rtse."

44. M.I. xxviii, 0010.

. . . [2] . . . Klu . rtser . yaṅ . spriṅ . ste |

"To Klu-rtse also a message has been sent."

45. M.I. iv, 132 (paper fragment; c. 31 × 7 cm.; l. 1 of large, ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | r[ta . ẖi . lo] . la | | s[k]un . [mkh]ar . Nob . chu . ṅu . G-yuṅ . druṅ . rtser | skyin (rkyen ?) . gyi | [s]un . dpag . spu . tshugs | dkar.

"In the Horse year at G-yuṅ-druṅ-rtse in Little Nob fort. . . ."

Note

It looks as if G-yuṅ-druṅ-rtse were merely a height or tower in the fort itself.

VII. SNAṄ-SDAṄ AND SNAṄ-RTSE

46. M.I. viii, 44 and 43 (two wooden tablets; No. 44, c. 17·5 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso*; No. 43, c. 20 × 3 cm.: ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso*; ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, in places rather faint).

[1] ༄ | | dpyid . sla . tha . chuṅs . tshes . ñi . śu . lṅaẖi . dguṅ . saṅs . nas | | śul . tu [2] žugs . te | | dros . kyis . skyes . Taṅ . gśor . tu . phyind . par . mchi . la | | [B 1] de . phan . chad . sṅa . ra . daṅ . phyi . ra . ye . myig . cher . bgyis . nas | śul.. pho . che [B 2] las . byol . te | ñin . na . rtul . daṅ . mgo . brtag | mtshan . ni . sgra [B 3] mchom . mñand . te | Snaṅ . sdaṅ . daṅ [43, 1] Snaṅ . rtse . yan . chad . sna . tshod . pas . bsgugs . nas | thabs . sa . gar . bde . ba [43, 2] dog . sa . ma . ẖpham . ba . nas | thabs . ma . naṅs (noṅs ?) . par . zind . ciṅ . thebs . par [43, 3] ẖtshal . cig | | Snaṅ . rtse . gžir . dguṅ . lṅa . bsdad . de . ma . byuṅ . na | gal . te | [43, B 1] sdiṅ . gro . bo . rgyud . du . dog . sa . bsgraṅs . nas | phyug . maẖi . steṅ . du [43, B 2] sṅa . ltogs . na . pa . gnam . ltor (btor ?) . bor . bdab | bun (thun ?) . tshod . bgyad . kyaṅ [43, B 3] gdaẖam | | mar . ma . śor . ma . thal . ṅes . na | rdud (2) . kaṅ . daṅ . sdiṅ . gro . bo.

[1] "Taking the road at daybreak on the twenty-fifth day of the last spring month, march so as to arrive at Taṅ-gśor by the time it becomes hot. [B 1] Thence onwards be very alert in front and behind; avoiding the high road, look out for dust and heads during the day and during the night suppress sounds and listen. [B 3–43, 3] As far as Snaṅ-sdaṅ and Snaṅ-rtse you will be awaited by an advance party (?); where there is a convenient place for fighting not involving apprehension, be willing to accept a combat if not taken at a disadvantage. [43, 3–] Having halted in the Snaṅ-rtse territory five days, supposing nothing happens if the followers.

Notes

The latter part of the document is for the present untranslatable, several of the expressions, e.g. *dog-sa* ("narrow place" ? ?), *phyug-ma*, *sṅa-ltogs*, *gnam-ltor-bor*, being obscure.

44, B 1. *ye-myig:* On this phrase see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 844.

43, 2. *thabs-ma-naṅs-par-zind-ciṅ:* This might be read *thabsam°*: could we translate "if caught where you must either fight or fly" ?

VIII. Stagu

In M.I. iv, 18, we have a wooden "card" of a certain Stagu G-yu-sgra, i.e. G-yu-sgra of Stagu, and a person of Pug-tshe Stagu, i.e. perhaps Pug-rtse in Stagu, is mentioned in another wooden tablet (M.I. xxvii, 4). The place is, no doubt, the *Stagu-khrom* "mart (market-town) Stagu" mentioned in M. Tagh., *a*, iv, 00128 (l. 5).

IX. Rtse-ẖthon

The *sde*, district (or regiment) of Rtse-ẖthon, is mentioned in M.I. xvi, 22; and a person Go-ẖji Spe-rton is named on his wooden card as belonging thereto (xv, 0012: *Rtse ẖthon . gi* | *Go . ẖji . Spe . rton* |

47. M.I. viii, 58 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 9 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 9 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ |.| H̱phan . la . brtsan . rmod [2] paẖ | Rtse . ẖton . gi . żiṅ . dor [B] bye (phyed) . daṅ . gñis.

"Plougher H̱phan-la-brtsan: Rtse-ẖton land, one and a half yoke."

Note

The hire of a *dor*, "yoke of oxen (or yaks)," for ploughing is the subject of many of the wooden documents.

48. M.I. xvi, 003 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 12 × 2·5 cm.; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | G-yu . ston . gyi . rtsa . ñar . du . mos . laẖ [2] Rtse . thon . gyi . žiṅ . dor . gcig | dor . [phye] . daṅ . [3] gñis.

"For the ploughing of G-yu-ston, Rtse-thon land, one yoke, one and a half yokes."

It suffices to mention the possibility that this Rtse-ẖthon may be identical with the Se-to or Se-toṅ named in a document previously edited (*JRAS*. 1927, pp. 60–1).

X. Rtse-rgod

49. M.I. viii, 89 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 17·5 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | : | Rtse . rgod . kyi . dkor . blar . dbul . baẖi . rigs . pa . las [2] ma . phul . te | bcabs . par . khuṅs . phyin . daṅ . khuṅsu . | lus . pa . mchis [B 1] mad . na | sṅa . stsun . du . stsald . par . gnaṅ ||

"The Rtse-rgod goods, which should have been delivered at first, have not been delivered. If it is true that they have been secretly put in store (?) and remain in store, be so good as to send them at the earliest moment."

Notes

On Rtse-rgod see p. 586 above.

l. B 1: *sṅa-stsun-du*: "Before to-morrow?".

XI. Byeẖu-liṅ

50. M.I. xxviii, 005 (paper, rather poor; c. 27 × 5 cm.; ll. 5 of ordinary *dbu-can* writing, rather clear).

[1] ༄ | . | naṅ . rje . po . blon . Stag . bzaṅ . daṅ . blon . Mdo . bžer . la || | Śaṅ . Rdzoṅ . gi . mchid . gsol . baẖ || naṅ . rje . po . cag . [2] thugs . rtag . thu . bde . ba . daṅ . chab . srid . mtho . bar | smon . lam . ẖtshal . žiṅ . mchis || thugs . pags . mdzad . paẖi . [b]k[aẖ] . drin . rab . [che] . ste || bdag . [3] Byeẖu . liṅ . du . pyin . nas : skyel . ma . yaṅ . slar . gyur . du . mchi . ba . las || kho . na . bro . ẖtshal . pa . daṅ || ba . boṅ . ṅan . pa . yaṅ | cuṅ .

zad . ma . bsti [4] na . | chab . ñam . chuṅ . ba . daṅ . chab . ẖtshal : du : | glo . ba . chuṅ . nas . | chuṅ . zad . thogste | mchis . [pa] . *lag*s naẖ || cuṅ . zad . ẖphyis . par . gyur . pa [5] bkaẖ . chad . kyis . myi . gcad . par . thugs . pags . chir . mdzad |

[1–2] " To the Home Ministers, Councillor Stag-bzaṅ and Councillor Mdo-bżer. Letter petition of Śaṅ Rdzoṅ: That the two Home Ministers may be perpetually happy and in state exalted is my prayer. The kindness of having given attention also is very great. [3–4] I have arrived at Byeẖu-liṅ: the escort also, which fell behind, is coming; what with sickness and poor oxen and asses, taking not even a little rest, with water very short and little hope of obtaining water, it has been a little hampered in its coming. [4–5] We are thus a little late. Be so considerate as not to order punishment."

Notes

Byeẖu-liṅ has been noted, upon Professor A. H. Francke's information, by Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 470 and 480). It is mentioned, as he reports, in M.I. xxvii, 19 (*verso*, recording an assembly, *ẖdun-sa*, there). Conceivably it is the Yü-ling of the Chinese, placed by Dr. Hermann in the neighbourhood of Dālai-kurghān (*Die alten Seidenstrassen*, p. 99, cf. *Serindia*, p. 296).

XII. Gtsos-mo-gliṅ

See pp. 574–5 above.

XIII. Dor-te

51. M.I. lviii, 003 (wooden tablet; c. 17 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather small, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] *żes* . żal . mthoṅ . nas . sñan . du . gsol . żiṅ . mchis || Dor . te . paẖi . rtsaṅ (stsaṅ) . nas . [2] kyaṅ . khal . graṅs . [daṅ . sbyar] . naẖ | mchis . pa . ẖdra . naẖ | da (?) . duṅ . du . yaṅ . tshugs . tshod [B 1] [bżes . nas . śas . żig . ste . żib . du(?) . bka . spriṅ . ba . gsol . żin . mchis]

"Beg to report in your hearing when seeing your face. As regards the number of loads from the grain of the Dor-te people also, it seems to have come. If there is anything further that you are expecting, I beg you to send precise orders."

Notes

In M.I. 0034 we have mention of a soldier or police agent (*so*) of Dor-te (*Dor-te-ẖi-so*).

XIV. Śod

This may be identical, or connected, with Nob-śod.

52. M.I. xxviii, 0024 (wooden tablet, complete ; c. 21 × 1·7 cm. ; l. 1 of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

༄ |:| ma . thag . tu . Śod . tu . mchis . na . de . las . cha . myur . du . spriṅ . bar . gsol |

"As soon as you arrive in Śod, please send news from there forthwith."

The nomads of Śod (*Śod-ẖbrog*) are mentioned in M.I. i, 41, and the H̱o-ẖbrog (River nomads ?) in M.I. xiv, 108 *d*.

XVI

H̱bri-char-smad (Lower H̱bri-char) seems to be a place-name in M.I. xxviii, 7.

Appendix

53. *Verso* of Ch. fragm. 82 (c. 28 × 19 cm. ; ll. 12 of clear, ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ |:| byi . ba . loẖi . dbyar . sla . ra . baẖi . ṅo . la |
Tshas . stobs . gyi . sde | [2] ༄ |:| byi . baloẖi . dbyar .
sla . ra . baẖi . ṅo . la || Sñiṅ . tsoms . gyi . sde | -e . *Lha* .
skyes . gyi . gro[ṅ] . [3] nas . khal . gsum . žig | Rgod .
sar . gyi . sde | Sag . Dge . legs . gis . sña . g-yar . du .
ẖtshalde [4] slar . ẖbulbaẖi . dus . ni . lan . ẖdi . ẖi . ston .
sla . ẖbriṅ . po . ma . gum . tshun . tshad . bre . byed . bzaṅ[s ?]u

[5] bgyisde | *dus . gcig* [1] . bre . phul . myi . gcad . par . dus . gcig . du . Lha . skyes . gyi . sgor . ẖbul . bar [6] bgyis | *su* [2] . dus . der . ma . phul . lam . gya . gyu . z̀ig . ẖtshal . na | g*ñi*cig [3] . la . gñis . su . . . [7] bsgyur . te | dṅos . sgyur . daṅ . bcas . par . kho . naẖi . sgor . phyi . phy(a)ig . daṅ . naṅ . rjes . sug . spyad . rgyab . ẖgo[s] [8] ci . la . bab . kyaṅ . ruṅste | riṅ . lug . su . phrog . na . yaṅ . z̀al . cu . tshig . kyaṅ . myi . mchis . bgyi[s] [9] brgya . la . Dge . legs . *bye . ha* [4] . gz̀i . la . ma . mchi*ssam* | rje . blas . bkur . te . guṅ . chad . du . gyur [10] na . mjal . gña . kha . len . kho . naẖi . pho . ba . . . . *ni* [5] . dam . goṅ . nas . byuṅ . bz̀in . du [11] mchid . gyis . ẖtshal . z̀iṅ . ẖbul . braẖ [6] . bgyis . paẖi . dpaṅ ——— [12] ——— lastsogspaẖi . dpaṅ . rgyadaṅ . sug . yig . tshad . gyisbtabpa.

[1] "At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Tshas-stobs. [2–3] At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Sñiṅ-tsoms. From the village (*or* house) of Lha-skyes some three loads of barley having previously been required above (*g-yar-du* ? *or* "on loan") by Sag Dge-legs of district Rgod-sar, as regards the time of rendering it back, it is the middle autumn month of the present year. [4–6] Until death (*or* until this is effected ? *gum* = *khums*), half a *bre* is agreed (? *bzaṅsu* ? as interest): the delivery of the *bre* is to take place without interruption at one time at the house of Lha-skyes. [6–9] If it is not there delivered, or if trickery is attempted, the amount becomes doubled. Together with the capital (?), whenever at his house a last demand and request for restoration endorsed by the Home Minister shall have been delivered (?), it may be recovered according to the old usage without a word of protest. [9–11] In case

---

[1] These two syllables crossed out.

[2] *su* crossed out.

[3] *ñi* crossed out.

[4] These two syllables crossed out.

[5] *ni* crossed out.

[6] Compendious for *bar*.

of failure, if Dge-legs is not in [possession of] the land or if through consideration on the part of His Excellency a division is made, then the witnesses to the agreement and the guarantor his elder . . . upon a demand by letter in accordance with the outcome of the above indenture are required to deliver: [11–12] in attestation whereof the attestation marks and written signatures of . . . . and the others are attached."

Notes

The agreement is a draft, as appears from the fact that in l. 1 a different document was commenced, and also from the gaps left in ll. 11–12 for insertion of the names of witnesses, etc. Concerning the phrases *żal-cu*, *dam-goṅ-nas-byuṅ*, *brgya-la*, we may refer to the notes on the similar document discussed above, p. 578. This instrument comes from the Tun-huang library (it is written on the back of a MS.) and relates to the Śa-cu region.

l. 1. *Tshas-stobs* : This district has not hitherto been found.

ll. 2–3. *Sñiṅ-tsoms* and *Rgod-sar* : On these districts see the references in *JRAS*. 1928, p. 97.

l. 3. *Sag* : On this clan-name see ibid., p. 93.

l. 4. *bzaṅsu* : Reading and sense uncertain.

l. 5. *myi-gcad-par* : This seems clearly to mean " without interruption " ; one would have preferred " if the delivery of the *bre* is not carried out ".

ll. 6–7 . *gcig-la-gñisu* . . *bsgyur* : Cf. *JRAS*. 1927, p. 813.

l. 7. *phyi-phyi(a)g* . . . *rgyab-ḥgos* : The rendering is somewhat uncertain.

l. 9. *bkur-te-guṅ-chad-du* : The reading is uncertain.

LIST OF PLACES AND PEOPLES MENTIONED ABOVE

Byeḫu-liṅ, p. 591.

Ce(a)r-cen, pp. 556, 564–5, 567.

Charkalik, p. 555.

Der-ḫa-ra, p. 587.

Dor-te, pp. 591–2.

Dru-gu, pp. 559, 560, 583.

Gtsos-mo-gliṅ, pp. 574–5, 591.
Gyuṅ-druṅ-rtse, pp. 586–7.

H̱bri-char-smad, p. 592.
H̱brug (H̱briṅ-), p. 583.
H̱dzom-smad, p. 564.
,, -stod, p. 564
H̱greṅ-ro, pp. 583–4.
H̱o-ẖbrog, p. 592.
H̱o-ni, p. 568.
Hor, pp. 574–5, 584.
H̱o-se, pp. 577–8.

Ka-dag, pp. 556–7, 565–9, 570.
Kha-dro, pp. 561–2.
Khotan, p. 555.
Klu-rtse, pp. 571, 586–7.
Kotak-Sheri, p. 566.

Mdo-sgral, p. 587.
[,,]-smad, pp. 580–1.
Mīrān, p. 555.

Nag-śod, pp. 561–2.
Naṅ-goṅ, pp. 580–1.
Nob, pp. 555 sqq., 569.
Nob, Great, pp. 568, 574, 579, 583, 585–6.
Nob, Little, pp. 556, 566–87.
,, -śod, pp. 581, 586–7.

Pug-rtse, p. 589.

Rgod-ldiṅ, pp. 563–4.
,, -sar, pp. 593–4.
,, -tsaṅ-smad, pp. 561–3.
,, ,, -stod, pp. 561, 563, 577–8.
Rlaṅ, p. 584.
Rtse-ẖthon, pp. 589, 590.
,, -rgod, pp. 585–6, 590.

Śa-cu, p. 555.
Skal-ẖkhar, pp. 580–1.
Snaṅ-rtse, pp. 588–9.
,, -sdaṅ, pp. 588–9.
Sñiṅ-tsoms, pp. 593–4.
Śod, p. 592.
Stagu, p. 589.

Taṅ-gśor, p. 588.
Tshal-byi, pp. 555–61.
Tshas-stobs, pp. 593–4.

Yü-ling, p. 591.

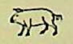
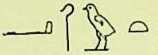
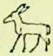
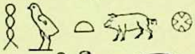
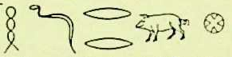
The Pig in Ancient Egypt: A Commentary on Two Passages of Herodotus

By WARREN R. DAWSON, F.R.S.E.

I. The Pig in Agriculture

> "But when the river has come of its own accord and irrigated their fields, and having irrigated them has subsided, then each man sows his own land and turns swine into it; and when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he afterwards waits for harvest-time: then, having trod out the corn with his swine, he gathers it in." [1]

THE tomb-scenes of Egypt of all periods are particularly rich in pictures of various phases of agricultural life: so complete is our material that it is possible to reconstruct every episode of the farmer's year. The newly sown seed was turned into the ground by various methods, sometimes by means of the hoe and human labour, sometimes by means of the plough drawn by oxen, and sometimes, again, it was trodden in by animals. From Herodotus' statement, it might appear that the only method of treading-in corn was by means of swine, but actually this method is very rarely met with. So far as I know, there is no instance of this procedure earlier than the eighteenth dynasty. In two Theban tombs (Nos. 24 and 146), each of which belonged to a different person bearing the name Nebamun, amongst the agricultural scenes, pigs are seen following the sower to tread in the grain.[2] Both these tombs date from the reign of Tuthmosis III.

At a far earlier period, however, the pig was known to the Egyptian farmer. In the tomb of Methen (early fourth dynasty) the sign  follows as determinative of the word , the usual term for herds of small cattle, and here it is accompanied by the ass .[1] From this it is evident that the pig was domesticated and kept on farms at the beginning of the Pyramid Age. The pig figures in the names of two estates, one  in a fifth dynasty tomb at Dashur,[2] the other  in the tomb of Nefermaēt (fourth or fifth dynasty) at Meidum.[3] Both these words have reference to repelling the pig, i.e. the wild-boar, and date from a time when this predatory animal was a menace to the farmers. From the Middle Kingdom no pictures of the pig as a domestic animal seem to have been discovered, but literary references to the animal occur. The allusion in the Story of the Eloquent Peasant shows that at this period herds of pigs were kept, for an inventory of property mentions "his corn, his barley, his asses, his swine, his small cattle".[4] Similarly the lament of the sage Ipuwer that famine has caused such scarcity of food that it is "taken away from the mouths of swine" implies that pigs were kept in Egypt at the end of the Old or the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[5] The pig reappears once more in the tomb-scenes of the early eighteenth dynasty. In two tombs at El-Kab, those of Renni and of Paheri, herds of pigs are represented amongst the farming-stock.[6] In addition to these examples, and to those from the Theban tombs already mentioned, Wilkinson figures three groups of pigs from Theban tombs: one of which shows sows with their young, a second young pigs, and a third a herd of boars with conspicuous tusks being driven by a herdsman.[1] That considerable herds of pigs were kept on some of the farms is suggested by an inscription in the tomb of Renni, in which an inventory of his flocks shows that swine outnumbered the other live-stock :

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[1] *Herodotus*, ii, 14 (Carey's translation).

[2] Northampton-Spiegelberg-Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 14, text-fig. 15 (from Tomb 24), and pl. xiii (from Tomb 146). The plate is coloured and is reproduced from a charming water-colour copy of the original by Howard Carter.

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[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 3, and Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, ii, p. 120.

[2] Maspero, *Mém. Mission Arch.*, i, p. 191.

[3] Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xxi. The form of the animal here is clearly that of the wild-boar.

[4] *Peasant*, B ii, 138. Cf. Gardiner, *Journal of Eg. Archæology*, ix, pp. 22, 25.

[5] *Leiden Papyrus*, I, 344, Recto, 6, 2.

[6] Tylor and Griffith, *Tomb of Renni*, pl. ii, idem. *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. iii, lowest register, left.

"Oxen, 122 ; Sheep, 100 ; Goats, 1200 ; Swine, 1500."[2] In the Cairo Hymn to Amun, the word *mnmn* "flocks" has five determinatives : ox, goat, calf, pig, and ram.[3] This suggests that at the end of the eighteenth dynasty or the beginning of the nineteenth, the pig was still a recognized part of the farmer's live-stock.

The above are all the examples of the pig in agriculture that I am able to quote, and having in mind the vast number of agricultural scenes of all periods which exist, it is evident that the pig was relatively rare on Egyptian farms, and that Herodotus' statement is too wide a generalization. It is significant that the pig is not mentioned in the Great Harris Papyrus.

II. The Pig in Medicine, Magic, and Mythology

> "The Egyptians consider the pig to be an impure beast, and therefore if a man in passing by a pig should touch him only with his garments, he forthwith goes to the river and plunges in : and in the next place, swineherds, although native Egyptians, are the only men who are not allowed to enter any of their temples : neither will any man give his daughter in marriage to one of them, nor take a wife from among them ; but the swineherds intermarry amongst themselves. The Egyptians, therefore, do not think it right to sacrifice swine to any other deities : but to the moon and Bacchus do they sacrifice them, at the same time,

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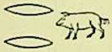
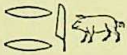
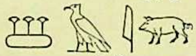
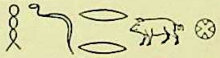
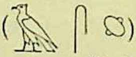
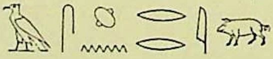
[1] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, iii, 34. The third picture is also given by Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 64, but neither author states from which tomb it was copied. Maspero merely says " from a Theban tomb of the XVIIIth Dynasty ".

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 75.

[3] *Boulaq Papyrus*, xvii, 6, 4.

that is, at the same full moon, and then they eat of the flesh. A tradition is related by the Egyptians in relation to this matter, giving an account why they abhor swine on all other festivals, and sacrifice them in that; but it is more becoming for me, though I know it, not to mention it. The sacrifice of pigs to the moon is performed in the following manner: When the sacrificer has slain the victim, he puts together the tip of the tail, with the spleen and the caul, and then covers them with fat found about the belly of the animal; and next he consumes them with fire: the rest of the flesh they eat during the full moon in which they offer the sacrifices; but in no other day would any one even taste it. The poor amongst them, through want of means, form pigs of dough, and having baked them, offer them in sacrifice. 48. On the eve of the festival of Bacchus, everyone slays a pig before his door, and then restores it to the swineherd that sold it, that he may carry it away."[1]

There are two words for "pig" in the Egyptian texts,  or  *rri*, and  *šꜣi*. The first, which is written out in the place-name  above mentioned, is probably the wild-boar, and the second the name of the domesticated pig, or swine in general. Both these words occur in the medical texts, but *šꜣi* is far the more frequent of the two. In the following instances of the medicinal uses of the pig, the texts always have *šꜣi* except where otherwise noted.[2]

Brain (). In a prescription for getting rid of worms, B. 2/5 (19). For a vaginal complaint, , E. 95/18 (814).

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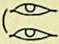
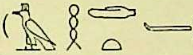
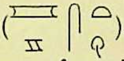
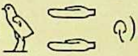
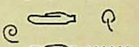
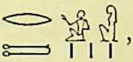
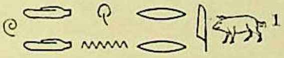
[1] *Herodotus*, ii, 47, 48 (Carey's translation).

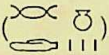
[2] In the following quotations the letters B, E, H, and L refer to the Berlin, Ebers, Hearst, and London medical papyri respectively. The numbers in brackets are those of Wreszinski's edition.

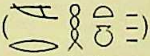
Eyes (). In a prescription for an affection of the eye (*špt*) "Pigs eyes: take their fluid", with *mśdmt*-salve, minium, and honey. To be applied to the *ear* of the patient, E. 57/17–20 (356).

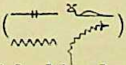
Teeth, or Tusks (). For the teeth: ground tusks of a pig to be taken in bread for four days, E. 54/3 (316). For blisters or boils (*šfwt*), ground pig-tusk in an ointment, E. 74/20 (580).

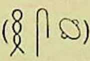
Liver (). In the course of a long incantation, the liver of a pig is applied to the patient, L. 13/13 (40).

Gall (). In a prescription for the eyes, "pig's gall, divided into two halves." The text has  , but I have elsewhere given reasons for emending it to [1] . . . E. 61/12 (392).

Fat (). In an emollient to relax stiffness, E. 82/14 (658).

Grease (). "Grease of a pig or of a hippopotamus" in an ointment, E. 71/6 (531). For obscure complaints, an internal remedy, B. 4/3 (42), B. 8/9 (100), B. 10/6 (109).

Blood (). For the stomach, E. 39/18 (198). Mixed with blood of other animals to prevent re-growth of the hair, E. 63/16 (425). In wine as a potion, H. 2/6 (20).

Dung (). In a long prescription for an emollient, E. 83/4 (663). Mixed with dung of other animals in a fumigation, B. 4/4 (64).[2]

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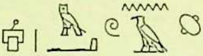
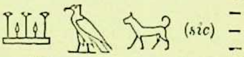
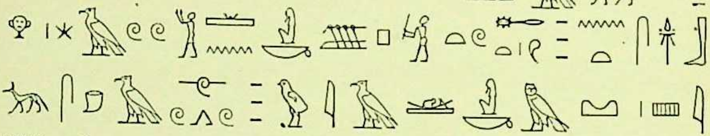
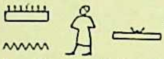
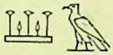
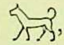
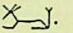
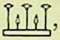
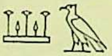
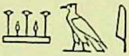
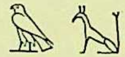
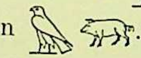
[1] Dawson, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Bd. lx, p. 21.

[2] It may be mentioned that the pig appears in Coptic medicine. In the papyrus published by Chassinat, *Un Papyrus Médical Copte*, pig's grease occurs in six prescriptions, and in one of them, No. 197, it is specified as "unsalted"; this prescription is for open ulcers. In No. 70 the snout and

In the magical papyri the pig plays but a small part. In the Leiden manuscript which contains incantations and remedies for a disease called , references to swine occur three times, but in each case the papyrus is so badly mutilated that it is impossible to perceive the context.[1] In the Harris Magical Papyrus, the following expression occurs in an invocation:  (sic)  [2] "the pigs (?) adore thee by taking the bodies of jackals, and they draw thy boat from the hidden mountain."[3] The determinative of  in the hieratic text resembles , the dog, but it is not the usual form of the Seth-animal, which in hieratic is always recumbent, . Perhaps there is some allusion to the fabulous monster called , which might be an abbreviated writing of  or  and have the pig as its prototype.[4] On the Palermo Stone, the group  representing Horus and Seth, is written .[5]

In religious texts, we find a mention of the pig in one of

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trotter of a pig are recommended as light food for a bilious subject. The dung, flesh, and fat of the pig are used in Syriac medicine (see Budge, *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics*, vol. ii). Pig's gall, blood, and dung occur in the Assyrian medical texts (see R. Campbell Thompson, *Proc. Royal Soc. of Medicine* (Hist. Sect.), vol. xvii, 5, 12, 27, etc.

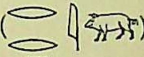
[1] The Leiden Papyri, I, 343 and 345, are parts of one and the same manuscript. The pig is mentioned in 343, recto, i, 1, and i, 11, and verso ii, 9.

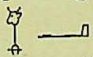
[2] *Harris Magical Papyrus*, v, 4.

[3] For jackals towing the solar barque see plate in Rossi, *Una Papiro Funerario.*

[4] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, ii, pl. iv.

[5] Daressy, *Bull. de l'Inst. Franc.*, t. xxii, p. 175.

the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*,[1] but the single copy of the spell that has come down to us is so obscure as to be well-nigh untranslatable. It is useless to endeavour to understand the purport of the passage until another and more correct duplicate text is discovered. Our principal source of information as to the part played by the pig in mythology is the 112th "chapter" or spell of the *Book of the Dead*. This spell is one of a series the object of which is to enable the dead to know the "powers" ( ) of various mythological localities. It contains a dialogue between Rē and Horus, when Seth, in the form of a black boar () seizes and devours one of the eyes of Horus. Thereupon Rē declared swine ( ) to be an abomination to Horus, and oxen, small cattle, and swine are sacrificed. This is a variant of an ancient myth, according to which the Eye of Horus was torn to pieces by Seth, and restored by Thoth, who made the eye whole, whereby it became the , or sound eye. It is curious to note in passing that the parts of the were used graphically to express fractions.[2]

In the Judgment Scene of the *Book of Gates* (sixth division) a condensed and graphic representation of this same myth is to be found. Before the seated figure of Osiris is a boat, in which is a pig being driven by a baboon. This scene is usually labelled  "the eater of the arm", the arm here being a variant of the eye. The boat represents the barque of Rē, and the baboon takes the place of Thoth, the god to whom that animal was sacred.[3] So far as I am aware, there are six copies of this scene extant; these are: (i) The tomb of Haremhab[4]; (ii) the sarcophagus of

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[1] Lacau, *Textes Religieux*, No. 60.

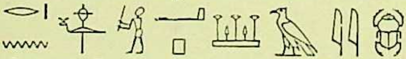
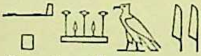
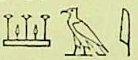
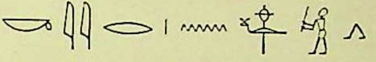
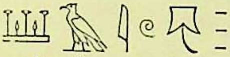
[2] Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, p. 25.

[3] For some unknown reason the cynocephalus of Thoth is almost always spoken of as an ape by Egyptologists.

[4] Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi*, etc., pls. liii–lv.

Sethos I[1]; (iii) the tomb of Ramesses III[2]; (iv) the tomb of Ramesses VI[3]; (v) the sarcophagus of Teos in the Louvre[4]; and (vi) a sarcophagus in the British Museum.[5] In these pictures the pig is usually represented with a bristling back, and is evidently intended for a wild-boar, although no tusks are indicated. In No. iii, the animal (although tusked) is a sow, if Lefebure's drawing is to be trusted. In No. vi, the artist has represented the boat, but has omitted to insert in it the figures of the baboon and the pig. A second baboon, also armed with a stick, is shown either above the boat (i–iii), in front of it (iv), or in the forepart of the boat itself (v). In every case the pig is being driven in the direction *away* from Osiris. As already indicated, we have in these pictures a kind of heraldic representation of the myth.

A similar symbolism is expressed in two papyri of late date in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In one of these, Thoth, armed with knives, attacks a pig, and further on in the same papyrus, Horus is seen spearing seven swine. In the other, Horus spears a pig in the presence of seven goddesses.[6]

The 36th spell of the *Book of the Dead* is entitled  "a spell for repelling the '*ēpshay*'". The last word is determined with a beetle, and according to the vignettes of various papyri, it is a monstrous insect of some kind. It would appear from the picture in the papyrus of Nakht that the words  and  must have been confused, for in that manuscript there is a picture of the deceased spearing a pig.[1] Later on, this confusion passed into the text, for the Cairo papyrus of Ga-sushen, for instance, gives the title of the spell as   "another spell for repelling swine".[2]

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[1] Bonomi-Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus*, pl. v.

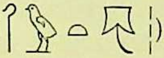
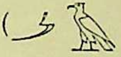
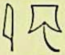
[2] Lefebure, *Les Hypogées Royaux*, part iii, pl. lxiv.

[3] Rosellini, *Mon. Culto*, pl. lxvi; Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. cclxxvii, and *Notices*, ii, pp. 495–6.

[4] Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, ix–x.

[5] Unpublished. It is "sarcophagus of Qem-hap. XXXth Dyn. No. 1504."

[6] *Bibl. Nat. Papyri*, Nos. 177 and 178. Unpublished: I quote from photographs of them. I have mentioned these papyri in connexion with the significance of the number *seven* in *Ægyptus*, vol. viii, p. 104.

At the conclusion of the long passage of the *Book of the Dead*, known as "chapter" 125, there is a rubric which gives directions for the tracing of a picture upon a new brick, made from clay taken from a field "in which no swine have trodden".[3] Some manuscripts have "no swine, or other cattle" (),[4] and others "no lion" ( ).[5]

Most of the above quotations show the pig as a harmful and unclean animal, or otherwise represent it in an unfavourable light. Side by side with this aspect of the pig, we find the sow as an animal sacred to Isis. As such it is often represented as an amulet, pierced for suspension, and was worn as a talisman just as "lucky pigs" are worn to-day. Specimens of these pig-amulets are to be found in most museums, but they are not older, according to Petrie, than the twenty-sixth dynasty.[6] Maspero states that some of the specimens in the Cairo Museum have on their bases an inscription which he translates: "qu'Isis donne le bonheur au propriétaire de cette truie,"[7] but in describing these same specimens, Reisner makes no mention of any inscription.[8]

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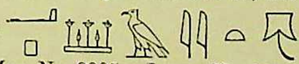
[1] British Museum Papyrus, No. 10,471.

[2] Naville, *Papyrus Funéraires de la XXIe. Dynastie*, ii, *Le Papyrus de Katseshni au Musée du Caire*, pl. xxxii, line 16; so also the *Greenfield Papyrus* (B.M. 10,554), xvii, 8. In pl. xxii, line 14, the same spell occurs with the original reading 

[3] So the papyri *Brit. Mus.* No. 9905; *Louvre* No. 3074, etc.

[4] So the *Papyrus of Nu* and many others.

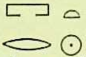
[5] So the *Papyrus of Iouyia*; *Brit. Mus.* 10,009; *Louvre* 3097, etc.

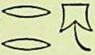
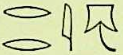
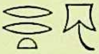
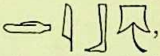
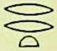
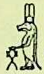
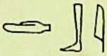
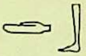
[6] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 47, and pl. xxxii.

[7] Maspero, *Guide du Musée du Boulaq*, 1884, p. 274.

[8] Reisner, *Amulets* (*Cat. Gen. Musée du Caire*), pp. 162–4, and pl. xx.

A pig-amulet of very early date (anterior to the fourth dynasty) was found by Petrie at Abydos.[1]

In the astronomical tables in the temple of Edfu, the seventh and eighth months of the year (the second and third of the season , Prōet) are represented each by a pig on a standard, and these pigs are labelled respectively *rkḥ wr* and *rkḥ nḏs* "the Great Heat" and "the Little Heat".[2] In the corresponding lists on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, each of these months is represented by a jackal on a standard.[3] It is not clear why the pig should be associated with the hot months of the year in the Edfu table, as elsewhere Rokeh, the personification of Heat, is a jackal, as just noted, or a mummiform divinity with the fire-hieroglyph for a head.[4]

There seems to have been some confusion between the pig ( or  m., and  f.) and , the hippopotamus; both, however, were Typhonian animals.[5] In the Metternichstele (l. 79), for instance, the goddess  is determined by the sign , the usual symbol of Thueris, a form of Hathor.[6] Similarly, the word  or 

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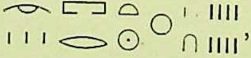
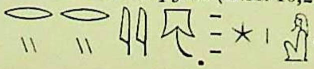
[1] Petrie, *Abydos*, ii, pl. vi.

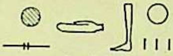
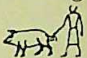
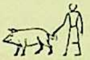
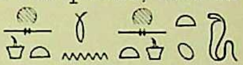
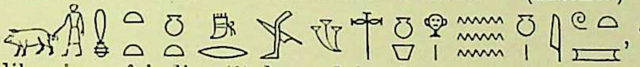
[2] Brugsch, *Monumens de l'Egypte* (1857), pls. ix, x.

[3] Brugsch, op. cit., pls. v, vi.

[4] The latter form is frequently found in papyri and coffins of the twenty-first dynasty. Examples: *Pap. Skrine No. II* (= Blackman, *Journ. Egyptian Arch.*, vol. v, pl. iv, No. 7); *Pap. of Queen Henttōwē* (= Mariette, *Papyrus du Musée de Boulaq*, t. iii, pl. xix); *Pap. Louvre* 3287 (twice), etc. The association of the pig in late times with the Feast of Rokeh may perhaps account for the entry on fragment 14 of the Tanis Geographical Papyrus (*Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, pl. x), in which the pig and the crocodile are mentioned under the date , i.e. the month of the "Little Heat".

[5] In this connexion see Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pp. 28–30.

[6] The constellation *rrt* is often represented as a hippopotamus from the nineteenth dynasty onward. In the *Hood Papyrus* (B.M. 10,202, p. 1, line 5) the constellation is called .

is sometimes determined by the pig-sign. The rebus-writing of  *ḥsdb* "lapis-lazuli" by the group  a man holding a pig by the tail,[1] shows that the word *db* "hippopotamus" was applied in late times to the pig, just as in the converse case *rrt* was used for hippopotamus, as we have just noted. It may be mentioned that the group  occurs on the circular zodiac of Dendereh, where a geographical signification, the "Blue Nile", is intended.[2] In two late temple inscriptions which speak of blue cloth, the colour is expressed by the word *ḥsdb*, written in one according to the normal orthography of the period, and in the other by means of the rebus: (i)  "the blue cloth of the Blue Goddess" (Hathor)[3]; (ii) , "blue, likewise, of indigo (?) brayed in river-water."[4]

Having now assembled some of the Egyptian evidence relating to the pig, we may consider the statements of Herodotus quoted at the head of this section.

The opening statement that the Egyptians considered the pig as an impure beast is echoed by other classical writers,[5] but the statement is too sweeping a generalization as it stands in view of the evidence assembled above. There is at present no native evidence whatever to support the statement regarding the segregation of swineherds, nor, indeed, is it at all likely that any herdsmen were exclusively relegated to the care of swine, for there is no specific word in the language to express a swineherd as such. The fact that herds of swine were kept on the Egyptian farms in itself presupposes that the animals were reared for food or sacrifice. It is quite evident that they were not kept merely for the brief and seasonal labour of treading in seed, for which other animals, known to have been used as food, were commonly employed. If pigs had been universally regarded with such horror as the classical writers suppose, a horror so intense that mere contact with swine rendered a man unclean, we should scarcely expect to find so large a herd as is recorded in the tomb of Renni at El-Kab. Renni was actually a priest, and it is in the highest degree improbable that he would have owned large numbers of an animal that was regarded as impure, and it is still less likely that even so, the fact would have been recorded in his tomb.[1] The fact that Renni and others reared pigs in large numbers almost postulates that they were used for food and perhaps for sacrifice also.

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[1] First explained by Goodwin, *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, Bd. vi, p. 17, who showed that the word as thus graphically written means "stop-pig".

[2] Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. cccxlix, *bis*; Daressy, *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Orient.*, t. xii (1916), p. 5.

[3] Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, II, xix, 9 (Dendereh).

[4] Rochmonteix, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, i, 388 (Edfu).

[5] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, viii: Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh.* iii, 223) says that an Egyptian priest would rather die than eat pork.

Herodotus' statement that pigs were sacrificed to the moon and to Bacchus clearly has its origin in the legend preserved in the *Book of the Dead* (cxii), of which mention has already been made,[2] and the same motive underlies the symbolism of the pig chastised by a baboon in a boat in the scene in the sixth division of the *Book of Gates*.

It is evident that in the case of the pig, as with so much else in Egypt, customs varied in different localities and at different periods. Their survival in historic times is an echo of an origin in the local principalities that were later united as a single kingdom. The same state of affairs must have existed in the case of the pig as Herodotus himself describes concerning other animals. Thus he says of the crocodile, "with some of the Egyptians crocodiles are sacred: but with others not, for they treat them as enemies."[3]

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[1] Paheri also had priestly as well as civil titles, and the Nebamun of Tomb 146 at Thebes was attached to the temple of Amūn.

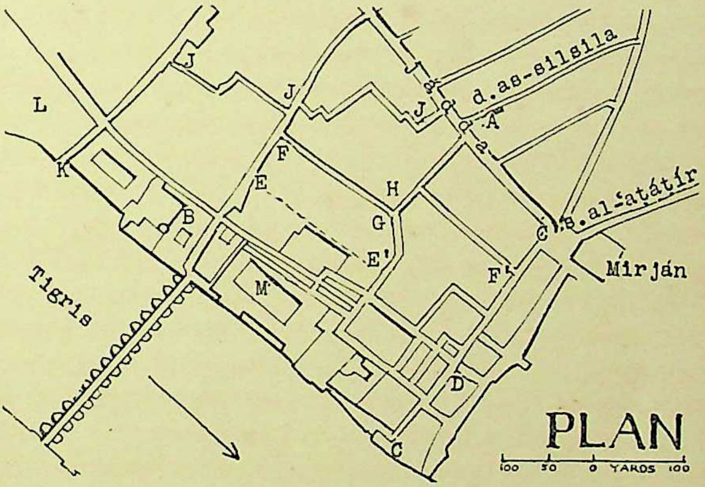
[2] In addition to the earlier studies of this section of the *Book of the Dead*, see the recent articles by Sethe, *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, Bd. lviii, pp. 1–24, and Naville, *Revue de l'Egypte Ancienne*, t. i, pp. 245–9.

[3] Book ii, cap. 69.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE NIZAMIYA MADRASA AND BAGHDAD TOPOGRAPHY

It is interesting to compare the attempt made by Mr. Levy in the April number of the *Journal* to locate the site in Baghdád of the Niẓámíya *madrasa* with that made by Professor Massignon in his *Mission en Mésopotamie* (tome ii, 93–4). They both start from a passage in Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's *ṭabaqát al-aṭibbá'* (ed. Müller, i, 260, 262); but each arrives at a conclusion quite different from the other's, and each supports his interpretation with outside evidence. Unhappily the two theories are irreconcilable, because in each case the outside evidence of the one is incompatible with the conclusion of the other; indeed, it seems impossible to reconcile all the evidence that exists. The question is what to reject.



Professor Massignon places the *madrasa* inland from the modern *jádda* north of the Mirján mosque (at A on plan). He supports his interpretation of Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's data by citing a local tradition, which claims a ruined buttress (*contrefort*) in the *darb as-silsila* as a relic of the building (see also the sketch-map—Planche VI—in his *Al-Hallaj*). This tradition is confirmed, though he does not mention the fact, by a passage in the *mir'át az-zamán* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí (MS. Paris, Arabe, 1506, fol. 131, used, apparently, by Salmon, *Introduction Topographique*, 6, 65). It is there stated that al-Khaṭíb "died in an apartment he inhabited in the *darb as-silsila* near the Niẓámiya", and again that "Abú Isḥáq ash-Shírází carried his *tábút* from the Niẓámíya *madrasa* to the bridge—(Salmon appears to claim that this latter passage shows the *darb as-silsila* as leading from the Niẓámíya to the bridge). Adh-Dhahabí (*ta'ríkh*, B.M. Or. 50, fol. 89), also, remarks that al-Khaṭíb's funeral started "from an apartment near the Niẓámíya in the Nahr al-Mu'allà (quarter)", citing a certain Abú'l-Faḍl Ibn Khayrún (?) as his source. Professor Massignon's conjecture would thus seem to be well founded, if it were not for another passage in the *mir'át az-zamán* (B.M. 4619, fol. 253), which states that the *madrasa* was "on the Tigris, by the Nahr al-Mu'allà", and with which the tradition is hardly reconcilable.[1]

It is this last passage that Mr. Levy uses to support his interpretation of Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a. As a result he places the *madrasa* on the river bank, just above the present north bridge-head (at B on plan), in line with the later Mustanṣiríya *madrasa* (M on plan). For this guess he has the support of Ibn Baṭúṭa, who states that both *madrasas* stood in the *súq ath-thaláthá'*, the Mustanṣiríya at one end and the Niẓámíya in the middle (ed. Defrémery, ii, 108); whereas Professor Massignon has virtually to reject Ibn Baṭúṭa's evidence. But the modern tradition of the site in the *darb as-silsila* has of course to be disregarded if Mr. Levy's suggestion is to be accepted.

It is, therefore, a question of disregarding this tradition, or of taking Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí to mean that the *madrasa* stood not actually on the river bank, but merely in a part of the city near the river, and of supposing, in order to admit the statement of Ibn Baṭúṭa, that the *súq ath-thaláthá'* was a winding thoroughfare leading inland from the Mustanṣiríya.

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[1] As-Subkí, *ṭabaqát ash-sháfi'íya*, iii, 90, also refers to the *madrasa* as standing on the Tigris bank.

Mr. Levy's location of the Niẓámíya would thus seem to have less against it than Professor Massignon's. But there is still a difficulty in the way of accepting it. Mr. Le Strange (*Baghdad*, 266) states that the Mustanṣiríya was inside the Caliphs' *ḥarím*: in which case the *ḥarím* wall must be placed up-stream of it, i.e. at least as high as the present north bridge-head, and so actually next to the point B. This proximity would certainly tally with Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's description; but the authorities cited by Mr. Le Strange do not in fact seem to bear him out in placing the Mustanṣiríya inside the *ḥarím*; and as the *súq ath-thaláthá'* certainly did not enter the *ḥarím* at any point, we should have for one thing, if we were to believe him, to reject Ibn Baṭúṭa's statement that the Mustanṣiríya stood in the *súq*. To-day the *mashra'a*, or opening on the river, next most southerly to that of the present north bridge, is one, called *sharí'at al-maṣbagha*[1] (see Massignon, op. cit., 86, 88, No. 17), situated almost in a line, drawn at right-angles to the river, with the Mirján mosque, to which it is joined by a covered market (now partially demolished—C-C′ on plan). And it is on the south side of this market that I would suggest locating the end "lap" of the crescent-shaped *ḥarím* wall, with the most northerly gate of the *ḥarím*, the Báb al-Gharaba, somewhere along it (say opposite the end of the present *súq al-haraj*—the ancient *súq ath-thaláthá'* (?)—at point D on plan). The *ḥarím* wall cannot have taken off much farther down-stream, because the Qurayya quarter (still so called—*ra's al-grayya*), just below the above-mentioned line, was certainly within the *ḥarím* (see Yáqút, *mu'jam*, iv, 84, and Massignon, op. cit., 94).

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[1] Surely Mr. Levy is mistaken in stating that the *mashra'at al-maṣbagha* leads to the bridge. The street leading to the bridge is called *sharí'at al-jisr*, according to Professor Massignon (loc. cit., No. 16), and both he and recent maps show the *maṣbagha* as next down-stream.

But if this is in fact the site of the *ḥarím* wall, it is decidedly too far from the point B on the plan (the proposed site of the Niẓámíya) to agree easily with the description of Ibn Abí Uṣaybiʻa.

Ibn Abí Uṣaybiʻa describes the Amín ad-Dawla's house as having its back near the Niẓámíya (Mr. Levy does not mention this small point), whereas its entrance was in the *súq al-ʻiṭr* and near that gate of the *súq* neighbouring on (*mujáwir*, not necessarily "en face", as Professor Massignon translates) the Báb al-Ghaŕaba. Unless the words "near" (*yalí*) and "neighbouring" (*mujáwir*) are used quite loosely, therefore, the house must have occupied the greater part of the distance between the *madrasa* and the *ḥarím* end of the *súq*. The house was, it is true, evidently very spacious, since the Amín ad-Dawla was able to lodge in it a royal patient and all his retinue, and was in the habit of providing beds for sick lawyers from the *madrasa* (see *ṭabaqát*, p. 260). Yet it cannot surely have been as large as this—even the distance E-E′ on plan, for instance, is about 600 feet. However, if the words are not to be taken as having a very precise application, the requirements of the data can be met, more or less, if we suppose that the *súq al-ʻiṭr* ran parallel to the river (say from F to F′ on plan—the line of a modern street, still in part a market), and that the house stood somewhere near either the point G or the point H.[1]

There remains the question of the *darb as-silsila*. The passages quoted above from Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí and adh-Dhahabí, though they would confirm the tradition cited by Professor Massignon, can be equally well reconciled, I think, with Mr. Levy's scheme; and as a matter of fact suggest another interesting possibility in connexion with it. Al-Khaṭíb (Salmon, op. cit., text, 59, trans. 144–5) relates that the Buvayhid emir the ʻAḍud ad-Dawla, wishing to bring water to new gardens in the *dár al-mamlaka*, in the upper part of al-Mukharrim, from the Nahr al-Kháliṣ, made a brick-lined conduit along the *darb as-silsila.* Now the modern *darb as-silsila,* as shown by Professor Massignon in his map (op. cit., pl. i–ii, indicated by the " Minārat al maqṭoû‘ah "), may be only a portion of the ancient street, which, if it continued in the direction of the river (say along the course J-J-J on plan), would pass quite near the site B (especially if we include in the site all the " island " emplacement up to the point K on plan, as I think we may). Its conduit, also, would in this case lead to the site of the modern barracks (L on plan). This scheme, therefore, would fit in well with Professor Massignon's identification of the *dár al-mamlaka* site with that of the barracks-*saráy*-citadel (op. cit., 85, 97).

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[1] Ibn Abí Uṣaybiʻa's words "in the *mashraʻa* running down to the Tigris bank" seem to refer rather to the Báb al-Gharaba than to the Amín's house.

Mr. Levy and Professor Massignon differ, again, on another small point. Mr. Levy remarks that the *súq al-‘iṭr* may be taken to have formed part of the *súq ar-rayḥáníyín* which ran outside a length of the *ḥarím* wall ; whereas Professor Massignon (op. cit., 93) cautions us to distinguish between the two, since *‘iṭr* means a distilled perfume, as opposed to *rayḥán*, a sweet-smelling herb or flower. Professor Massignon goes on to state that the *suq al-‘iṭr* was always further south (by which he appears to intend, nearer the river) than the *súq ar-rayḥáníyín,* without, however, giving any reason for the statement. And if, as seems probable, the old *súq ar-rayḥáníyín* is represented in the Baghdád of to-day by the *súq al-‘aṭáṭír* (for *‘aṭṭárín*—see Massignon, op. cit., p. 30), a separation of the two would be necessary to accord with the " lay-out " of streets that I have proposed.

Finally, from the details now known about the *darb as-silsila* —namely, (i) that it lay near the Niẓámíya, and (ii) that its canal brought water to the *dár al-mamlaka* " *bi-a‘là* ", that is, " in the upper part of " al-Mukharrim (Salmon, op. cit., text, 56, trans., 141)—it is clear, I think, whether Mr. Levy or Professor Massignon be right about the position of the *madrasa*, that Mr. Le Strange's location of it, below the palaces of the Caliphs (*Baghdad*, 298, 326, 355), is inadmissible. Moreover, Yáqút, on whose word he bases his assumption, does not really say that the *madrasa* was near the Báb al-Azaj, but only, under the heading "Tutush", that there were a Tutushí estate and a Tutushí *madrasa* near the Niẓámíya, and a Tutushí hospital near the Báb al-Azaj, all founded by the same man (*mu‘jam*, i, 826).

HAROLD BOWEN.

FURTHER NOTE ON B.M. MS. OR. 8193

On pp. 129 and 130 of the January *Journal* I published the text of certain Arabic proverbs with Persian prose translations and Persian verses amplifying the themes. By an odd coincidence I am able to identify the work from which they come. This is the *Ṣad Kalima* of ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, with the metrical paraphrase of Rashīd-i Waṭwāṭ. This work was recently edited with a translation by A. H. Harley (Fazle Akbar, B.A., 21 Wellesley Square, Calcutta, 1927).

The following list shows the differences between the two texts. U. indicates the reading of the "Uighur" MS. in the British Museum, H. Harley's text. (v.) indicates a variation between the texts; (m.) a mistake of transliteration by myself. Harley's text does not contain the Persian prose translation.

LXXXVIII. U. *bā arḍ-u jahān* H. *ba-har dū jahān* (m.) U. *a‘rāḍ* H. *ag͟hraḍ* (m. or v. ?).

U. *pas dar wart͟ha-yi* H. *bāz dar warṭa-yi* (m. ?).

LXXXIX. *amlaqtum* is confirmed.

U. *māl c͟hahra* H. *māl-u jāh-rā* (m. and v.).

U. *kasān ba-istig͟hnā* H. *ba-nāz-u istighnā* (v.).

U. *sarranj-i* H. *zi-ranj-i* (m.).

XC. U. *kat͟hurat ak͟hṣānuhu* H. *kat͟hafa ag͟hsād͟huhu* (v.).

U. *na na andas͟h* (?) *ba dastī kardan*

H. *na nihandash ba rastī gardan* (m. and v.).

The reading *dastī* of U. is clear; if *rastī* is the correct reading, it would seem to indicate that the scribe of U. was working from an original in *Nashki* or *Nasta'liq* script, and mistook a د for *a* ر.

XCII. U. *kamāl-u khirad* H. *kamāl khirad* (v.).

XCIII. U. *jarra* H.'s جَرَی appears to be an error for جَرَّ.

U. *bīm* H. *zūd* with variant *bīm*.

XCIV. U. *'alaykum* H. *ilaykum* (v.).

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE BABYLONIAN DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM: THE FOLLY OF HUNTING

Ebeling and Langdon have published the interesting text known now as "The Babylonian Dialogue of Pessimism" (see Ebeling, "Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion," ii, pp. 50–70, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 23 (1919), and Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* (1923), pp. 67–81).

The third paragraph (§ C) is difficult (see Ebeling, p. 57, ll. 3 and 9, and Langdon, p. 71, l. 19, and p. 72, l. 25). On p. 63, Ebeling says: "in die Steppe fahren"; see also p. 65 ("Der Abschnitt beschäftigt sich, so viel darf man wohl sagen, mit der Jagd auf Menschen und Tiere"). Langdon, in describing the contents of this paragraph, says (p. 69): "Vain is the excitement of a nomad's life."

I should like to offer an explanation of this paragraph which differs somewhat from that suggested by Ebeling and Langdon. I shall give the text (with the numbers of the lines as given by Langdon) and the translation, and then a few explanatory notes.

§ C

17. *ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni an-nu-u be-li an-nu-u*

18. *ši-šir di-kan-ni-ma* $^{\text{iṣu}}$*narkabta ṣi-in-dam-ma ana ṣēri lu-un-šur*

19. *mu-šur be-li mu-šur ša ameli mut-tap-raš-ši-di ma-li kar-as-su*

20. *kalbu da-ịā-lu eṣimta i-ḫi-ip-pi*
21. [*ḫa-ḫu-r*]*u mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-ḳa-an-nun ḳin-na-*[*śu*]
22. . . . *ak-kan-nu mur-tap-pi-du i-me-* ? . . .
23. *e ardu a-na-ku a-na ṣēri-ma ul a-*[*maš-šar*]
24. *la ta-maš-šar be-lí la* [*ta-maš*]*-šar*
25. *ša ameli mut-tap-raš-ši-di ṭe-en-šu* [*iš*]*-ta-ni-šu*
26. *ša kalbi da-ịā-lu i-šab-bi-ru* [*šin*]*-ni-šu*
27. *ša ḫa-ḫu-ru mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-na* [*ḫur-ri*] *dūri bit-su*
28. *ù ša ak-kan-nu mur-tap-pi-du na-mu-ù* šu (?)*-ba-su*

17. " O, slave, hearken unto me." " Yes, my lord, yes."

18. " Hasten, summon me the chariot and prepare it. To the plain I will drive."

19. " Drive, my lord, drive. Of the hunting man (1), full is his stomach. (2)

20. The chasing dog will break the bones.

21. The fleeing *hahur*-bird will nest (in) its nest. (3)

22. . . . The fleet wild ass will . . ."

23. " No, O slave, unto the plain will I not drive."

24. " Drive not, my lord, drive not. (4)

25. Of the hunting man, madness will seize him.

26. Of the chasing dog, they will break his teeth.

27. Of the fleeing *hahur*-bird, in the hollow of the wall is its house.

28. And of the fleet wild ass, the wilderness is his dwelling place."

Notes

(1) *muttaprašsidi*, lit. " fleeing ". He who hunts flees, gallops, runs, in order to shoot, to catch the beast or bird.

(2) *karassu*, " his stomach, his belly " (as in § E., l. 41 ; see Langdon, p. 74).

(3) *iḳannun ḳinnašu*, " will nest its nest ", i.e. will be in its nest.

(4) *ṭēnšu ištanišu*, lit. " his reason (mind) will be changed " = he will lose his reason = madness will seize him ; see Delitzsch, H.W.B., s.v. *ṭēmu*.

MEANING OF THE PARAGRAPH

In this paragraph, I suggest, *the folly of hunting* is described. In accordance with the plan of the dialogue, first the advantages of hunting are given and then its disadvantages, and, as in the other paragraphs, the disadvantages outweigh the advantages.

In l. 19 it is said (by the slave) that the hunter is in a happy position because he fills his stomach with the game which he shoots.

In l. 20 it is vividly described how the chasing dog breaks the bones (of the killed beasts or birds).

In l. 21 it is said that the *hahur*-bird will be in its nest and will therefore be easily caught. The bird will almost wait to be caught. The task of the hunter will be so easy and pleasant.

It MAY be that *muttapraššidi* refers to the hunter. It MAY be that the *hahur*-bird is referred to as "the hunter's *hahur*". The DI at the end of the word would then be explained. On the other hand, it is possible that the *hahur*-bird is designated as "the fleeing bird". Both hunter and hunted flee or run; cf. *akkannu murtappidu* in l. 22 (and in l. 28).

In l. 22 it was also said, no doubt, that the fleet wild ass would be easily found. Lines 19–23, therefore, describe the benefit and the attractions of hunting.

Lines 25–8, on the other hand, describe the dangers and disappointments of hunting.

In l. 25 it is said that the hunter may lose his reason, and be seized with madness as a result of the exertions and perils of hunting.

In l. 26 it is said that, instead of the dog breaking the bones of other animals, the teeth of the dog will be broken (by the other animals).

In l. 27 it is said that the *hahur*-bird will be in the hollow of the wall, and it will not be possible to catch it.

In l. 28 it is said that the wild ass will be in the wilderness, and will escape being caught by the hunter.

Thus the hunt will be in vain, and the hunter will incur great personal danger.

I submit that this interpretation gives the paragraph excellent sense.

The vividness and brevity of the description of the hunt and of its advantages and its disadvantages are remarkable. A modern hunt, with its attractions and its perils, could bear a similar description.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

THE DEATHS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND PHILIP ARRHIDÆUS

Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C. The date of the month and day, 30th Daisios, in the Macedonian calendar, is well attested, but the reckoning which equates it to 13th June (Julian) is derived from the Romance, through the equation with the Egyptian 4th Pharmuthi; that reckoning is generally accepted, and is supported most strongly by the equation of Daisios with Thargelion by Plutarch.[1] Philip Arrhidæus was murdered in 317 B.C. after a reign of 6 years 4 months[2]; that event is therefore placed in October.

According to the Babylonian chronicle, Alexander's last year was 324–3; the last year of Philip Arrhidæus was 317–16, his eighth, the latest attested date in that year being Du'uzu.[3] Whether the Babylonians were aware of Philip's death shortly after it occurred, or continued to date by him for some months after it, is not a question relevant to the point here considered. If the length of Philip's reign be correctly stated by Diodorus, then Philip cannot possibly have been alive at the end of the fourth month of the eighth Babylonian year, since some part of a month at least is required for the first year, 324–3.

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[1] For a discussion of all the Greek evidence see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV², ii, pp. 26 ff. Beloch accepts the Romance; the writer of it may have been well informed owing to the monument mentioned by John Chrysostom, x, 625, as Mr. Tarn has kindly pointed out to me. I am indebted to Mr. Tarn for other Greek references, and for the reference to Beloch.

[2] Diodorus, XIX, ii. Mr. Tarn thinks the passage may be an extract from Hieronymus of Cardia. For discrepant accounts, of no value, see Beloch, ibid., p. 104.

[3] *Babylonian Historical Texts*, chap. v.

That Alexander's death fell before the Nisan of 323 may also be deduced from the confusion of reckoning in Babylonia. While the chronicler and another literary scribe reckoned Philip Arrhidæus' first year as 324–3, others placed the first year in 323–2. The reason for this is now fairly clear[1]; while some continued to reckon in the old Babylonian way by the first full year, i.e. 323–2, others adopted the Macedonian method of reckoning what had previously been called the accession year as the first year. There is no reason to assume that there was any difference of opinion as to the actual point of time when Philip began to reign; the facts must have been perfectly known in Babylon. The reckoning of 323–2 as the first year on the Babylonian system means that Alexander died before 1st Nisan 323–2.

Kugler[2] has supplied a list of the Julian dates of the Babylonian 1st Nisan of this period, based upon astronomical data and using all the available calendrical information. The dates which here concern us are :—

1st Nisan, 323–2 (Bab.) = April 14th, 323 (Jul.).

1st Nisan 317–16 (Bab.) = April 7th (or 8th), 317 (Jul.).

If this reckoning be accurate, Alexander died (for the Babylonians) before 14th April. Assume that he died before the first week in April, about the middle of the Babylonian intercalary Adar of 324–3 B.C., and that Philip's accession took place about 1st April, then Philip's death in 317 B.C. must have fallen at the end of July, or in the first week of August; this would be equivalent to the Babylonian Du'uzu and sufficient explanation of the mention of that month in the chronicle.

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[1] On this subject see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxii, p. 185.

[2] Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, ii Buch, ii Teil, 2 Heft., pp. 435 ff.

The Babylonian evidence then is that Alexander died not later than the first week of April; he cannot have died much before that, because Philip's death must be dated as late as possible in 317 B.C. There is a discrepancy between this and the 13th June date of over two months.[1] If there can be no doubt that the Greek evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the June date (a point on which I am unable to judge), then there is a direct conflict of Babylonian and Greek historical evidence.

There are certain points in the Greek evidence which may be said definitely to favour the Babylonian dating. In 317 B.C., after hearing of the deaths of Philip and Eurydice, Cassander marched from Tegea in the Peloponnesus to Thermopylæ, where he was opposed by the Ætolians, crossed by ship to Thessaly and marched to Macedonia, raised a revolution against Æacides and shut Aristonous up in Amphipolis before finally blockading Olympias in Pydna. If Philip died in the middle of October, this programme was executed between October and December—an obviously unlikely assumption. If Philip died at the end of July or early in August, there is no need to assume a practical impossibility, for we know that Cassander had to avoid a winter campaign against Pydna,[2] yet his driving of Aristonous behind the walls of Amphipolis implies a short campaign. Again, consider the facts about Alexander's accession. He reigned 12 years 8 months. If he died on 13th June, 323, his accession must be dated to October, 336. Between his accession and the spring of 335 there befell [3] the suppression of the internal troubles in Macedonia, the campaign against the Thessalians, the congress at Corinth, the visit to Delphi, and the preparation for the campaign against the Triballi. October–March is not sufficient time for these events if the general avoidance of campaigning in the winter months be considered. But if Alexander died at the end of March or beginning of April, 323, then his accession took place at the end of July or beginning of August; the campaign against the Thessalians may have fallen in September, the return from Delphi before December.

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[1] Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*², ii Band, who dates Alexander's death "Frühsommer des Jahres 323", and Philip Arrhidæus' "Herbst 317" says of the Babylonian Chronicle, "Es ergibt sich hier also kein Widerspruch mit dem griechischen Datum." That cannot be correct, unless Babylonian Nisan 1st fell later than 13th June in 323: that conflicts with Kugler.

[2] Diodorus, xix, 49, i.

[3] I rely throughout on Mr. Tarn's account in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. vi.

One more consideration may be here adduced. Alexander, when first attacked by the fever, was pressing on the preparations for Nearchus' expedition along the Arabian coast. Arrian states that Alexander intended to start on the expedition on Daisios 22nd. The preparations continued during the early days of the fever. The intention seems to be obvious, to take advantage of the Euphrates flood, which occurs at the end of March or in April. Alexander must then have fallen sick some weeks before the Euphrates' flood of 323, about March then at latest. Is the account of his death consonant with a sickness of 3 months, March–June? And why did Alexander and Nearchus, men of experience, delay the proposed commencement of that expedition to 5th June (reckoning the 30th Daisios = 13th June)? It sounds impossible.

To sum up. If the Greek evidence demands the dating of Alexander's death to 13th June there is a direct conflict with the facts derived from Babylonian sources. It may be that the equation of Daisios with May–June is certain, beyond any doubt. Even if that be so, the Babylonian evidence is of exceptional authority; of the two systems of dating one at least must have arisen (if not both) in the year of Alexander's death. It is idle, continuously and erroneously, to repeat that there is no contradiction between the Babylonian sources, (if Kugler's reckoning is correct) and the reckoning 30th Daisios = 13th June.

Sidney Smith.

DATING BY ASHURBANIPAL AND KANDALANU

The question of the identity of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu, constantly discussed,[1] must be reconsidered in the light of the most recent evidence. There is now cumulative proof that the years of Kandalanu and of Ashurbanipal in Babylonia were differently reckoned. Kandalanu, the *Κινηλάδονος* of the Canon of Ptolemy, ruled 22 years. The first (full) year of Shamash-shum-ukin, his predecessor, the *Σαοσδουχίνος* [2] of Ptolemy, was 667–666 B.C.,[3] the last 648–7, when Babylon was captured. Kandalanu's accession fell in 648–7, the twenty-second year was 626–5. A date in the twenty-second year was communicated by Professor Pinches to Oppert and to Canon Johns [4]; the number of the tablet (if it is in the British Museum collection) has not been stated, and is not known to me. It reads "Araḫsamna, day 2nd, year 22nd, after Kandalanu". We may conclude that Kandalanu was dead or deposed before Araḫsamna 22nd, but was alive in Nisan of that year. Nabopolassar's first (full) year was 625–4, not 626–5, as is stated in *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 324.

The important relevant evidence for dating by Ashurbanipal is the occurrence of a year 23 at Erech (on a tablet found at Ḫursagkalamma), a year 26 at Nippur, and a year 30 at Babylon. These dates all belong to one and the same system. It has been recently suggested [5] that the dating in the twenty-third year at Erech is from an era of Ashurbanipal as king of Assyria and Babylonia, commencing from the capture of Babylon, and that this twenty-third year was 626–5. If this supposed era were dated in the usual way, Ashurbanipal's twenty-third year would be 625–4 B.C., for his first full year as king of Babylon would fall in 647–6, as did Kandalanu's. But if Ashurbanipal's twenty-third year was 626–5, then his first year must have been 648–7, a year earlier than Kandalanu's. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*, and the equation with Kandalanu's dating immediately becomes impossible. But the 30th year at Babylon, and also the 26th at Nippur, prove that the dating by Ashurbanipal in Babylonia is based on his years as king of Assyria. The first (full) year of Ashurbanipal was 668–7; the 23rd year is 646–5, the 26th is 643–2, the 30th is 639–8. These three dates all fall within the reign of Kandalanu.

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[1] Streck, *Assurbanipal*, i, p. clviii, gives a summary of previous literature; Schnabel in *OLZ.*, 1925, col. 348, *ZA.* (*NF.*), ii, pp. 82 and 316; Lewy in *ZA.* (*NF.*), ii, 36, iii, 134; Essad Nassouhi in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 97 ff.; Langdon in *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 321 ff.

[2] On this rendering of the Babylonian name see now Furlani, *Sulla Pronuncia del Nome Šamaš-sum-ukin*, ser. VI, vol. iii, fasc. 3–4, pp. 227 ff. of *Reale Academia Nazionale dei Lincei.*

[3] S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 20.

[4] *ZDMG.*, 62, p. 630, and *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 324.

[5] *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 321. In this question of Ashurbanipal dating it is interesting to note that the mention of the 8th and 9th year, Essad Nassonhi, *Textes divers*, No. xiv, must refer to 661–0 and 660–59, during Shamash-shum-ukin's reign. This emphasizes the suzerainty exercised by Ashurbanipal in Shamash-shum-ukin's time, see *CAH.*, iii, p. 120; the appointment of Kandalanu was a continuation of the policy initiated by Esarhaddon.

Those who favour the identification of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu can explain the difference in name; it is more difficult to explain the difference in the systems of dating. The fact would be accounted for if Kandalanu was a vassal king installed in Babylon to fulfil the priestly duties, while Ashurbanipal retained the executive rule. The Canon of Ptolemy gave the Babylonian priestly tradition and neglected the fact of Assyrian suzerainty for the years 705–3; it may equally have done so for the period of Kandalanu's reign. An argument in favour of the equation of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu has been derived from a comparison of Eusebius and the Canon. Eusebius gives Sammuges (Shamash-shum-ukin) 21 years and Sardanapallus, brother of Sammuges, 21 years. The figure for Sammuges is definitely erroneous, the form of the name Sammuges must be due to some considerable corruption in transcribing, and the name Sardanapallus was the centre of a Greek legend. Berosus, the authority behind Eusebius (through Polyhistor), may have had a statement that Ashurbanipal, Shamash-shum-ukin's brother, was recognized for — years after the capture of Babylon. If 21 was the correct figure given by Berosus,[1] then Ashurbanipal's recognition in Babylonia extended from 647–6 to 627–6, if the ordinary Babylonian calculation is maintained; but the text of Eusebius as we now have it lacks authority. In any case, the Eusebius text cannot be considered a sound ground for the identification of Kandalanu with Ashurbanipal, for it can be adequately explained on the basis of Assyrian suzerainty.

The Nabopolassar Chronicle is clear evidence that Nabopolassar was master of Babylonia before the beginning of his tenth year, as Schnabel has rightly maintained. It is not conceivable that a king not in control of the south country could have undertaken the campaigns against the northern power. The dating of a tablet at Erech in the 7th year of Sin-shar-ishkun is then good evidence that Sin-shar-ishkun's 7th year cannot be later than 617–16. The endeavour to explain this 7th year at Warka as due to a rebellion in Babylonia in the year 613–12 must be dismissed. Lewy has misinterpreted the Nabonidus stele, col ii. The relevant passage reads *u alani ša paṭ* (*mat*) *Akkadi nakruma la illiku riṣutzu ušalpitma miesišun manama la izib ušaḫrib mahazišun*, "and he (Nabopolassar) destroyed the temples[2] of the towns on the border of Akkad which were at enmity with the King of Akkad, and did not march to his support; and he left none. He laid their holy cities waste." The expression *paṭ Akkadi* cannot mean "in the territory of Akkad"; this expression *paṭ* which led to certain errors in the location of Muṣur and Meluḫḫa was correctly explained by Sir Wallis

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[1] This would explain the 21 of Sammuges by an easy scribal error. But if Ashurbanipal died at latest in his forty-first year, as is argued below, the figures are worthless.

[2] Landsberger and Bauer in *ZA*. (*NF*.), iii, p. 89, translating *la mēsu* "unheilige Handlungen", rely apparently on *parṣu* = *mesu*; but that equivalence may be an argument for *parṣu* = "temple". That *mesu* in the present passage means "temple", "shrine", or something concrete is certain.

Budge in 1902.[1] The passage says nothing about towns within Babylonian borders; it may well refer to the subjection of Suhu. The statement of the *Chronicle* is incompatible with the assumption of a rebellion in Babylonia in 613–12. "In the 13th year, in Iyyar, the men of Suhu revolted from the King of Akkad, and made war. The King of Akkad levied his troops and went to Suhu. In Siwan on the 4th he did battle against Raḫilu, the city in the middle of the Euphrates, and took the city at that time. . . . He camped against 'Anah . . . The King of Assyria and his army marched down and the King of Akkad and his army retreated". Had a rebellion broken out at Erech the Assyrians would certainly have pursued Nabopolassar into Babylonia. The assumption that Sin-shar-ishkun would have left the people of Erech unassisted when he had so promptly supported the men of Suḫu is not worth discussion.

Sin-shar-ishkun's 7th year cannot be later than 617–16. As there is a dating by the 5th year of Nabopolassar at Erech, it may be not later than 622–1, as Schnabel has also stated. Ashur-eṭil-ilani, who preceded Sin-shar-ishkun, ruled at least four years; his first (full) year cannot therefore be later than 627–6, it may be not later than 632–1. That means that Ashurbanipal must have died at latest in 628–7 (his 41st year); he may have died before 633–2 (his 36th year). But Kandalanu was alive in Nisan 626–5. The argument against an identification of the two as one personality is clear. If to these arguments there be added the evidence of the synchronous king-list from Ashur, where Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu appear as distinct, without any hint that the two names represent one person, the question so long discussed should be considered finally settled. The cumulative arguments against the identification of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu are: (1) the difference in name (not in itself of importance) is accompanied by a difference in regnal years; (2) the suzerainty of and dating by Ashurbanipal during Kandalanu's reign is sufficiently explained by the similar position in the time of Shamash-shum-ukin, without assuming entirely different circumstances before and after 648 B.C.; (3) the historical improbability that any southern Babylonian town dated by an Assyrian king after the year 616–15, in the light of the Nabopolassar chronicle.

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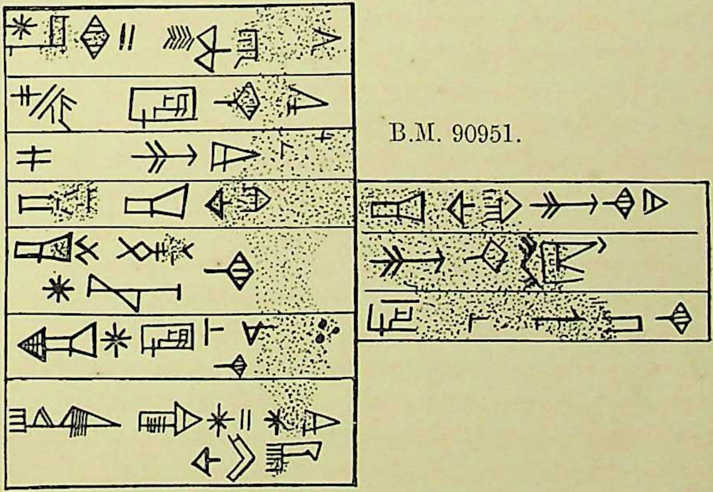
[1] Budge, *History of Egypt*, vol. vi, p. xiv. If any doubt were possible, compare now (*mat*) *Arzā ša paṭi naḫal* (*mat*) *Muṣur* and (*mat*) *Arzā ša itē naḫal* (*mat*) *Muṣri*, Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 1032, 1038, Weissbach in *ZA.* (*NF.*), iv, p. 110, and Essad Nassouhi, *Textes divers*, No. xii, l. 7.

SIDNEY SMITH.

ANOTHER A-ANNI-PADDA INSCRIPTION

The few lines of writing, a copy of which is given herewith, are engraved upon a plain round copper peg (34·3 cms. long and 3·6 cms. across the top) which tapers to a sharp point. That the material is copper rather than bronze is assumed because of the date which the inscription suggests (it will suffice to refer to *al-'Ubaid*, pp. 36 ff.); for the rest there are two other features of interest in the object itself, namely, its weight (1692 gr.), and the clear indication that it was for long driven into the ground or a damp wall, to the depth of 11·5 cms. for up to this distance from the point the surface is roughened and swollen by corrosion. The inscription is in two columns, of seven and three "cases" respectively; the first column begins directly under the top of the peg, the second ends some 3 cms. above the corroded space. As will be seen the inscription itself has suffered much from damage to the surface, but the appearance of these flaws is quite different from that of the corroded point.

This curious object has long been exhibited in the Babylonian collections of the British Museum, in which it has the number 90951, and it is by the kind permission of the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities that I now publish it. Some years ago I had attempted to copy the inscription but, being unable to make anything of it, had laid the copy by. Recently coming across this paper I was greatly surprised to see the name A-anni-padda, which, since the copy was made, has acquired so much significance from the excavations at al-'Ubaid, for it now appears that A-anni-padda was the name of the second king in the First Dynasty of Ur. What reason there is to connect this object with the king of Ur may be considered in a moment. But it is necessary first to explain that the copper peg has, unhappily, no modern history; it belongs to the old collections of the Museum, and there is no record of when or how it was acquired, much less of its place of origin, though it is at least certain that it was not among Mr. Taylor's finds at Ur. In view of this, and also of the obscurity of its inscription, a doubt as to its authenticity might arise, but could not, I think, be seriously entertained. For it was presumably acquired at a time when no forger could have produced archaic cuneiform signs such as are engraved upon this peg; further, the corrosion of the point, due to its standing long in the ground or a damp wall, would certainly not have been caused deliberately, and the damage to the surface which has obscured the inscription has every appearance of being due to natural decay. It is scarcely necessary to add that the signs are correctly shaped, and that the name of A-anni-padda was



unknown until five years ago, to convince the most sceptical that the idea of forgery must be dismissed.

The text may be transcribed as follows :—

Col. I. (1) ^{d}·*en-ki a še* (?) *pi* (?) *šu ni* (2) *nam-men-na-ni* (3) *pa mu-ni-?* (4) *ab* (or, *unu*) *ab ši* (?) *ga* (or, *bur*) (5) *ab kur muš* ^{d}·*inanna na* (6) *abzu* ^{d}·*men-me-nu- . . . na* (7) *lugal-bi* ^{d}·*a-an-ni-pad-da.*

Col. II. (1) *ab ši* (?) *ga* (or, *bur*) *mu-na-ni* (2) *mu-na-nad* (3) *men-?-?- ur* (?)-*na.*

As to the meaning of this I am little wiser now than when the copy was first made. A preliminary difficulty is to decide where the inscription begins ; Col. I is written continuously round the head of the peg, without any space, break, or special division to mark off the first line of the column from the last. The choice has been made because a god's name is the regular beginning of dedications, but, so far as appearance goes, it is quite arbitrary. A number of comments might be made upon special points in the inscription, but since they would lead to no conclusive result, I shall observe only that the signs read *ši* and *ga* or *bur* in Col. I (4) and Col. II (1) are very doubtful, that *na* at the end of Col. I (5) looks like a phonetic complement, which would be strange, and that in Col. II (2) one might expect, instead of *NAD*, the compound *HU*+*NAD*, i.e. *sa*, " to call," which might be taken with the *mu-na-ni* of the preceding line, " he called its name (?)."

That the A-anni-padda whose name occurs here is the king of Ur is at least a reasonable supposition, although he does not actually claim the title. Yet the author of this inscription was a royal person ; he calls himself " his king " (*lugal-bi*), i.e. the king chosen or favoured by the god, and no other king A-anni-padda is known. Reference to the few extant inscriptions of this king of Ur (in *al-'Ubaid*, pls. xxxv, xxxvi, and xl) will show that the style of writing is similar enough to favour the identification.

C. J. GADD.

HARṢA AND CHRISTIANITY

Dr. Mookerjee has stated in a footnote on page 145 of his recently published monograph on Harṣa that the Emperor Śilāditya had "some touch with Christianity too". He makes this assertion on the strength of a remark of Dr. Edkins, quoted in the *Athenaeum*, 3rd July, 1880, p. 8. I have traced the passage to its source, and I therefore venture to say that it has been entirely misunderstood by the learned Professor. It informs us that the same Emperor who welcomed the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang on his return from India laden with Sanskrit manuscripts "received with equal favour the Syrian Christians Alopen and his companions, who had arrived in A.D. 639". It is thus evident that we have here a distinct reference to the Emperor of China, and not to Harṣa. I may add that the same mistake occurs in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xii, p. 232, note 19, but I hope the error will not be repeated after this short note.

RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHE.

ERAKAPATRA NĀGARĀJA

A well-known Bharhut relief (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xiv, right), representing a Nāga king worshipping at an altar beneath a *sirīśa* tree, bears the inscription *Erāpato Nāgarāja Bhagavato vaṁdate* "The Nāga king Erāpata worships the Blessed One (Buddha)". This Erāpata, *alias* Erakapatta, Ailapatra, Erāpatha, Elāpatra, etc., according to Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore*, "can be nothing but another Prākrit form of the Sanskrit Airāvata." Messrs. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 71, show that this is certainly not the case. But the same authors, referring to the Dhammapada Commentary (which they do not seem to have consulted), remark that *eraka-patta* is there said to mean the leaf of an *eraka* tree, and "is not this fantastic ?" As a matter of fact, this is precisely what *erakapatta* does mean, and the Commentator is perfectly justified. The *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, xiv, 3, now easily accessible in Burlingame's *Buddhist Legends*, H.O.S., 30, pp. 56 ff., gives the story of Erakapatta in full, and completely explains the relief. Getty (*Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 153) gives another reference, *Journ. and Text of the Buddhist Text Soc. of India*, vol. ii, pt. 1, 1894, p. 3, which I have not consulted. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa, Erakapatta was a young monk. Travelling in a boat on the Ganges, and passing a grove of *eraka* trees, he caught hold of a leaf, and as the boat was moving quickly, the leaf was broken off. It seemed a trifle, but on his death-bed the sin greatly distressed him, and because of it he was reborn a Nāgarāja, by name Erakapatta. He had a daughter; every day, coming to the surface of the Ganges, he placed her on his hoods, and caused her to dance and sing (illustrated in the upper part of the relief). She propounds certain questions in her song; when these are properly answered, Erakapatta will know that another Buddha has arisen in the world. They are at last answered by Uttara, a young Brahman who has been instructed *ad hoc* by the Buddha, and becomes a Buddhist monk (he is seen in the water, on the upper right-hand side of the relief). Erakapatta then asks, "Where is the Buddha?", and learning that he is seated under a *sirīśa* tree, proceeds thither, and kneels in worship, at the same time recovering a human form; this appears on the left-hand side of the relief, and illustrates the words of the inscription. An intermediate scene on the lower right shows Erakapatta with his wife and daughter. Of the seven *sirīśa* trees mentioned in the text, only five are represented.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

THE NAM LANGUAGE

In a note published above (1926, pp. 505–6) I gave from Central Asian MSS. of the Stein collection some short extracts representing two new and unknown languages. One of the two seemed to be a dialect akin to Lepcha, and the text may have been written (in Tibetan character) by a man from Nepal. The other had a more questionable appearance.

[*Note.*—There are in the published extract certain misprints, which, while hardly enhancing the bizarre aspect of the language, would perhaps not facilitate its interpretation.]

In regard to the second language I ventured a suggestion that the word *rtaẖ*, or *ẖrtaẖ*, with which several sentences commence, might correspond to the Tibetan *rta* "horse", in which case the text might relate to horse-doctoring, as do several Tibetan fragments from the same region. The hazardous character of the suggestion could not be disguised: for the writing *ẖrtaẖ* might indicate no more than a syllable *ta*, which clearly might be a mere conjunction or particle. There were, however, some further indications. One or more sentences end in the word *phan*, which in Tibetan means "useful" and appears similarly in the medical MSS. Moreover, the syllable *re* is of frequent occurrence in a manner suggesting the *re* or *red* which in several Tibeto-Burman dialects has the meaning "be" and in Tibetan itself occurs in the phrase *na-re*, "so it was (said)" = Sanskrit *iti hāsa*, and otherwise: it is no doubt also the syllable occurring in such names as *Ḫphan-to-re* (*supra*, 1927, p. 66). More generally, it is clear that the verb ends its sentence, and it there shows the suffixes *-o*, *-to*, *-s*, and *an* (*ẖam*) which the Tibetan for various purposes uses in that position. The entire rhythm of the language is clearly of the Tibeto-Burman kind.

A re-examination of the Tibetan fragments and of the Sanskrit works on horses has not led to anything more definite; nor is it any longer to be expected that light may come from a treatise on the subject ascribed to the famous king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and said to be current in Tibet. But my notes recorded an additional MS. mentioning horses, and this MS., along with two others which it brought to mind, is likely to furnish a solution of the linguistic problem and help in the interpretation of the text.

The three MSS. are not of a medical nature: they contain some not uninteresting folk-lore relating to animals and other beings, not all natural. The purpose of the present note, however, is merely to show that they are translations from another language to which they give a name. The following passages will suffice:—

(1) (MS. A) Skyi . rgyal . Bod . kyi . skad . du . na . | Yab . sten . rgan . gyi . ñer (ñur) . ba | rgyal . Nam . paẖi . skad . du . na | Yab . ṅal . ldeẖi . thol . prom .

"In the language of the Skyi (error for Spu [1]) kingdom, Tibet: *Yab-sten-rgan-gyi-ñer*(*ñur*)*-ba* (probably meaning—according to the indications of the narrative—'one who arranged for his old father's monument.' In the language of the Nam kingdom, *Yab-ṅal-ldeẖi-thol-prom*."

(2) (MS. B) pha . yab . ki . mtshan . na . rgyal . Nam . ẖi . skad . du . na . Yab . ltoṅ . teẖi . mye . kru . Spu . rgyal . Bod . gyi . skad . du . na . Gloṅ . myig . loṅ . ẖan . Bya . gloṅ . gi . lgo . daṅ . rje .

"As to his father's name, in the language of the Nam kingdom it was *Yab-ltoṅ-teẖi-mye-kru*; in the language of the Spu kingdom, Tibet, it was *Gloṅ-myig-loṅ* or *Bya-gloṅ-gi-lgo-daṅ-rje* ('Gloṅ Eye-blind' or 'Bird Gloṅ' . . . .)."

(3) (MS. B) rgyal . Nam . paẖi . skadu . na . Cho . pyi . cog . zu . Spu . rgyal . Bod . gi . skad . du . na . Spaṅ . ẖgi . boṅ . bu . stag . cuṅ .

"In the language of the Nam-pa kingdom *Cho-pyi-cog-zu*; in the language of the Spu kingdom, Tibet, *Spaṅ-ẖgi-boṅ-bu-stag-cuṅ* ('Ass of the plains, Little Tiger')."

It appears, therefore, that in the case of certain names—I have not cited all—the MSS. give correspondences in another language, which they call the language of Nam or of the Nam people (*Nam-pa*). Considering the early date of the MSS., we cannot ascribe to these citations the semi-fictitious character which in later times attaches to some Tibetan mentionings of languages with which the writers had ceased to be familiar. It is, therefore, clear that the references have a natural appositeness, which can be due to nothing but an actual translation of the texts from Nam originals. That this is really the case is evident from the fact that the original Nam names are sometimes retained untranslated: thus the *Yab-ṅal-ldeẖi-thol-prom* of extract (1) above recurs without explanation later in the same MS.; and similarly *Yab-ltoṅ-*

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[1] The Skyi country being mentioned in the immediate context.

teẖi-mye-kru in MS. B. Clearly, therefore, the prior name was that of the Nam language. Moreover, in such phrases as—

Nam . ti . go . cog . ni . skon . dril . bu . g-yag . sñiṅ . ni .
boṅ . bu . stag . cuṅ . ẖgi . mgul . du . btags.

> "We Nam-tig people (*Nam-ti-go-cog*) attached a yak-heart bell to the neck of the ass 'Little Tiger'."

the original authorship stands confessed.

Concerning the existence of a Nam kingdom and its probable identity with the Nam or Nan-hu (Tun-huang region) of Sir A. Stein's *Serindia* (ii, 617 sqq.), I may refer to the article on "The Language of Ancient Khotan", published in *Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 261. Of its language the few vocables which we have now elicited, together with any proper names to be found elsewhere, might constitute all our information were it not for two facts, to which I will now refer.

The first of these two facts is that to the Nam language belong the extract mentioned earlier in this note and the rather extensive MS. from which it is taken. When that text is adequately interpreted we shall have a quite considerable vocabulary and a more or less adequate grammar of a new Tibeto-Burman language of a date practically as early as the Tibetan itself. The lexicographical differences from the Tibetan are, as is usual in the case of monosyllabic languages, of a wholesale character, and the possibility of a complete interpretation, near or remote, depends upon certain contingencies. But the general character of the text and the language is clear.

The second fact is that a further specimen of the same language exists in a document obtained by the German expeditions to Turfan and edited by Professor A. H. Francke in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1927 (*Phil. Hist. Klasse*, pp. 124 sqq.). If Professor Francke, who recognized the Tibeto-Burman character of the specimen, was not aware of its similarity to the language of the extract previously published by me, the readers of the extract will, I think, not reproach him! The pedantic (and also somewhat capricious) orthography, as well as some other peculiarities of the extract, make its connexions less apparent than they might otherwise have been. But, in fact, the grammatical structure and much of the vocabulary of Professor Francke's text are plainly identical with the corresponding features of the Nam text.

The Nam language can hardly have been confined to the little district of Nan-hu. Possibly its name is related to that of the Nam-shan mountains, the mountains of the South. But its connexions and its other features may be reserved for a more adequate discussion than would be possible in this note.

F. W. Thomas.

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The fifth session of the All India Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The objects of the Conference are : To consider the various activities of Oriental scholars in and outside India. To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research. To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views, and to promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.

The conference is held every second year and practically sums up the work done by Oriental scholars in various branches of Oriental art and literature.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections : (1) Vedic, (2) Classical, (3) Philosophy, (4) Philology, (5) Fine Arts, (6) Arabic, Persian, and Zend, (7) History and Archæology, (8) Urdu, (9) Hindi, (10) Panjabi, (11) Anthropology.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference. The subscription is five rupees, payable to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., University Hall, Lahore. The Hon. Local Secretary is Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., Ph.D., at the same address.

Excavations at Ur, 1927-8

Abstract of a Lecture by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, *delivered 15th May*, 1928

Mr. C. Leonard Woolley proceeded to describe, with the help of numerous lantern slides, the results of the sixth season's work of the joint expedition sent out to Ur by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. At the end of last season's excavations a cemetery had been discovered lying in the confines of the sacred area much older than any buildings within that area yet identified; and the first thing done was to complete the digging out of a grave whose excavation had remained unfinished at the end of the previous season and which on the very last day of work had produced the gold dagger which had been the best "find" of that year. The grave in question was a large one and the things in it were scattered about without any recognizable order. No actual body was discovered, but a harvest of fine objects in the way of gold beads and shell carvings was yielded, including a series of small shell plaques which had formed part of a royal gaming board: these plaques were engraved with figures of animals and the whole was set in a border of red stone and lapis lazuli. The admirable quality of the workmanship reflected the high level of civilization at the date of the grave (3500 or 3400 B.C.).

After this the workmen were set on to virgin soil, commencing to dig from the top downwards. Graves were found at the very outset, some near the surface, some deeper down, and some at a depth of 40 feet. Near the surface were graves of a late period, about 2700 or 2600 B.C.; slightly lower were graves of the first dynsty of Ur, about 3100 or 3000, and below these again others, the earliest going back about 400 years behind the first dynasty of Ur, as proved by their contents, relative depth, and other conditions. The upper graves showed a custom prevalent both in the Sargonic period (2700 or 2600 B.C.) and in the earlier first dynasty.

In them there is commonly found lying in the soil near the body a boat roughly modelled in a mixture of bitumen and earth, modelled by the fingers in situ, and round the boat clay vases which originally contained food for the dead. This custom, which does not appear at any later date, but which has its origin in very early antiquity, is of interest as implying that the passage to the next world was, according to early Sumerian belief, by water, bringing us at once into touch with early Egyptian beliefs and forming one more link between Egypt and Mesopotamia in the beginnings of their history.

Mr. Woolley then dealt at length with a few graves of a different character and of a much earlier date, viz., the royal graves discovered this year at Ur. He showed a section of one part of the cemetery indicating graves at different depths, graves of the Sargonic period, graves of the first dynasty, and some of a definitely earlier date, as proved by their character and contents compared with first dynasty types. In the normal graves rectangular shafts go down into the soil to varying depths, and at the bottom of the shaft is placed the dead body, either wrapped in a piece of matting or enclosed in a coffin, which may be of basket work or wood, the simple earth shaft being only slightly bigger than the coffin itself, perhaps 5 ft. × 4 ft., and altogether a very humble arrangement for interment. One rather larger than the rest was that of the Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug, which had been dug down at a later period into the original shaft of a great royal chamber. In the case of the royal graves the shaft is vastly greater and at the bottom of it lay one or more chambers solidly built in stone with stone vaulted roofs entered by an arched doorway—a great distinction from the ordinary shaft burial. Another startling difference is that they were distinguished by an entirely different custom, the main interment in each case having been accompanied by human sacrifice on a very large scale, clearly showing them to be royal graves as compared with the commoners' graves elsewhere in the cemetery. Grave No. 789, that of a king, contained the bodies of sixty men victims. Immediately above it was tomb 800, probably that of his queen. As a whole series of graves of the first dynasty was found to have been dug down into the shaft of the latter, it is certain that this royal grave is earlier than the first of the intrusive burials; it is unthinkable that a king having been buried with such pomp and splendour, his tomb should be lightly regarded within any short period. A long time must have elapsed before any ordinary person would venture to dig down into the shaft and violate it by the burial of a commoner. On that ground alone we are led to date the royal graves far back in the fourth millenium B.C.

In the small shaft burial grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug about 120 objects of note in stone, metal, and terracotta were found in the narrow space between the coffin and the wall of the shaft; vases and bowls in copper and silver, one in gold, daggers, many spears with copper blades and one with a gilt shaft; arrows mostly with heads of copper, but one quiverful with flint heads, and vases of alabaster and of clay. Inside the coffin itself was found the finest discovery yet made at Ur. The coffin had left only a black stain on the soil; the body was almost entirely decayed, but with it were a golden dagger and a golden lamp and bowls inscribed with the name of the prince, which might be translated as "the good lord of the land". Against the body was a tumbled mass of bracelets, earrings and beads, armlets in gold and lapis lazuli and carnelian, and resting on the arms and skull the golden wig-like helmet which the prince had presumably worn in war. The whole thing was a blaze of colour, the preservation of the gold was perfect. The helmet was life-size, of beaten gold, the locks beaten up in repoussé and the detail of the hair finely chased upon it. This was the finest object found in the course of the year's work.

The queen's chamber, that of Queen Shubad, was of an entirely different character. At the end of the shaft was a stone-built chamber vaulted with brick. In a recess was a paving of white stone slabs, possibly the slaughter place of the human victims whose bodies were spread over the whole of the remaining area. Five bodies of men were found at the door, presumably the guard. There was the queen's chariot or sledge drawn by two asses whose bones were beside it, with their great collars of decorated copper, and the bodies of the grooms lay at the animals' heads. Bodies of women were laid out in two rows, and at the far end of the chamber was a harp inlaid with shell and lapis lazuli. The women wore elaborate headdresses of gold ribbon and their heads were bound round with wreaths of carnelian and lapis lazuli beads, from which hung gold mulberry or lime leaves. The queen's wardrobe chest was found with its keeper beside it, and an enormous number of objects, vessels of silver and copper, stone and gold, including one perfect cup of lapis lazuli and an oval bowl ground out of obsidian, also the queen's gaming board, a heap of silver drinking pots, and a small group of vessels of gold. In the queen's chamber was another mass of objects, again vessels of copper, clay, silver and gold, many of which had been ranged on shelves against the walls. At one end of the chamber on a wooden bier lay the body of the queen herself with two attendants crouched by the bier side, one at the head and one at the foot. The upper part of the body was entirely concealed by a mass of beads in carnelian, lapis lazuli, gold, and agate ; the beads had formed a short cloak which hung from the queen's shoulders to her waist, apparently open over the right arm and there held together by long gold pins with lapis lazuli heads ; on the arm or on the joint of the cloak there were amulets of gold and lapis lazuli in the shape of fish and of gazelles. On her head she wore a very elaborate composite headdress of gold, broad gold ribbons wound round and round what was evidently a large and elaborate wig. Above that wreath after wreath of beads and golden pendants, the top wreath adorned with large gold flowers with petals inlaid with white shell and lapis lazuli, and on the top of the head a great golden comb decorated with rosettes.

Below the queen's grave was that of the king, whose name is not certain. The chamber had been plundered, but was a still more surprising illustration of the primitive custom of human sacrifice at the death of a king. At the entrance were the bodies of six soldiers still wearing their copper helmets and carrying their spears. At the foot of the incline to the chamber were two carts or wagons of wood each drawn by three oxen, which had evidently been backed down the slope and the oxen killed there in position with the grooms at their heads. Against the wall of the chamber were nine ladies of the court wearing elaborate golden headdresses. Other soldiers were in a row with copper daggers at their belts, and more women were lying against the tomb side. The original doorway into the tomb chamber was unbroken; the robbers had made their way down through the vaulted brick roof. The doorway was arched in brick, constructed upon the true voussoir principle. This carries the history of the arch as a feature of architecture back to a date hitherto unsuspected, and certainly proves the Sumerian origin of that particular feature which modern architecture has through the Romans and Greeks inherited from the Near East. The actual chamber was rectangular, but by means of pedentives the square is brought to a curve and the end of the chamber is roofed with a somewhat primitive form of half dome—a second constructional principle now found to go back to the fourth millenium B.C. Although the chamber had been plundered, it produced a few objects of great value. The most important was a beautiful silver model of a boat, quite different in character from the bitumen boats in the graves of commoners: the type is similar to that found at the present time in the marshes of Mesopotamia—a long shallow craft with five seats, with leaf-bladed oars, and amidships an arch to support a mat awning. The six oxen harnessed to two carts at the bottom of the shaft are the earliest instances we have of domesticated cattle; that they were really domesticated is proved by the silver collar and silver ring in the nose.

Of the carts themselves not much survived, just a black stain on the soil left by the decayed wheels and axles, but they were important documents for the antiquity of wheeled vehicles. Another remarkable object was the statue of a bull in wood with a head of gold and lapis lazuli and with shell plaques reaching from the animal's chin to its feet. These plaques are of intense interest because of the extraordinary scenes they represent, and will probably cause a great deal of discussion and be the subject of chapters and perhaps volumes of mythology.

In the last grave of all, the deepest and earliest, it was interesting to see that the roof was constructed not on the true arch principle, but by corbelling out the stones. This grave had been hopelessly plundered and stray beads and bits of shell carving were scattered about promiscuously, only a few objects of real value being found. These included one simple little gold cup and two models of ostrich shells, one in silver and one in gold, decorated in somewhat barbaric fashion with incrustations in lapis lazuli and mother of pearl. In one corner of the grave on the last day's work a first-class discovery was made—just as on the last day of the previous season's work the gold dagger had been found. In the very corner of the grave lay the flattened remains of a human skull, and by it a mass of mosaic which eventually proved to be a highly decorated box-like standard, composed of two pieces of wood fastened together back to back and inlaid with mosaic work in red stone, lapis lazuli and shell, set in bitumen. In various panels are seen the royal family sitting at feast, servants bringing up the materials for the banquet; the Sumerian army with chariots ; heavy troops and skirmisher troops ; and, again, prisoners being brought into the presence of the king—most astonishing pictures, technically very good, and historically of enormous importance.

In conclusion Mr. Woolley pointed out that although the objects shown went back to so very early a date, the civilization at that date must have been of very much older standing, for it needed centuries of work and experience before objects such as these could be produced. However much we may quibble about the exact date of a tomb, there can be no doubt that the developed civilization of Sumer does go back to a very early period indeed and that it antedated by several centuries at least the civilization of the first dynasty of Egypt. This fact taken in conjunction with the evidence we have for the connection between the two countries must assign to Sumer priority over Egypt in the order of the march of culture. Sumer indeed is shown to have been at the base of nearly all the other civilizations of the Near East; and therefore a claim can be set up for the Sumerians to have had an influence over our own history which certainly could not have been credited before the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania sent out this mission.

SIR F. KENYON: I am sure you will agree that the work which has led to these results and which is still unfinished must be carried on. Mr. Woolley has shown us where he ended his last season's work. Next year may produce results even as striking as those which we have seen to-day, and I remind you of this, that these excavations which are carried out by the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania can only be carried out with assistance from outside. In America I think all the funds come from subscriptions given for that particular purpose. In this country a large part of the funds have been found by the Trustees of the British Museum. The rest has been found by contributions from benefactors of the Museum and persons interested in it, and among them I should especially mention one name—that is the legacy which we have received for this purpose from Miss Gertrude Bell. I think one's only regret connected with these discoveries we have been hearing about to-day is that Miss Bell should not have lived to see them. I ask you to remember this, and if you can influence anyone who will help with the work for next season I shall certainly on behalf of the Trustees of the Museum be glad to receive any contributions that can be sent. We need quite a considerable sum and any donations will be used to the utmost profit.

MR. SIDNEY SMITH: I may perhaps be allowed to point out that much that Mr. Woolley has told us is very surprising, and, so far as I can see, everything that he has told us he will be able to prove. Had we been told a year ago that such an object as the last slide shown was as early as he is prepared to prove it to be, we should have been politely incredulous. If this civilization covers the period that Mr. Woolley thinks he must allow, then we have certainly an object coming from somewhere near the middle of the fourth millenium in that extraordinary shell and lapis lazuli inlay.

And remember every one of these objects must have been imported into the country. There is no gold in Southern Babylonia; there are no asses in Southern Babylonia, no metal of any kind, no wood, no lapis lazuli. One affirms that the lapis lazuli was brought from the Hindu Kooch; another would tell you that the wild asses must have come from Central Turkestan; others would say the metal came from Asia Minor. Whatever the truth is, these people had connections over large areas of the world; their import trade must have been carried not only by caravan but in boats. That sistrum we were shown, how could that come into Mesopotamia? We can date it approximately, because on the Egyptian side it is becoming increasingly evident that the Egyptian connections with Babylonia date to the end of the pre-dynastic period and to the first dynasty. We had trade certainly with Egypt and possibly with India clearly at any rate down the Persian Gulf, and also caravan trade that may have extended to Asia Minor and perhaps to Central Turkestan. Mr. Woolley has revealed to us treasures which equal in importance the treasures which were brought home by Sir Arthur Layard and those found at Susa by Mr. De Morgan. It may be he has excelled them. At any rate, you have been attending this afternoon at a sensational performance.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HOKUSAI. Par YONE NOGUCHI. Avec deux gravures sur bois et seize héliotypes. 47 pp. UTAMARO. Par YONE NOGUCHI. Avec une gravure sur bois et seize héliotypes. 26 pp. Traduit de l'anglais par Mlle M.-F. MAITRE, agrégée de l'Université. Paris et Bruxelles : les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928.

Professor Yone Noguchi is, I believe, an admirer and a disciple of the late Lafcadio Hearn, and I regret in the circumstances that I have not access to the English originals of these two monographs. This, however, is not by way of depreciation of the translations, which are admirably limpid in style and very pleasant to read.

So much has been written during the last half-century on the subject of Hokusai and Utamaro that it would not be just to look for anything very novel or unexpected in Professor Noguchi's brief review of the lives and characteristics of these two great masters of the school of Ukiyoe ; it is fairer to regard these monographs as simply the expression of his feelings of respect and admiration for their genius. Certainly European admirers of Hokusai and Utamaro will not cavil at his superlatives. Why should they, since it was the West which first drew the attention of the world to the superb quality of their work ? For although in Japan to-day the colour-prints of Hokusai and Utamaro probably command a considerably higher price than they do in Europe, this is a recent development, and while the artists lived it was for the common folk that they painted and among the common folk that they found their admirers. By the great world they were looked down upon.

In dealing with Hokusai, of whom in a few brief words he conjures up a striking portrait, the author seems much more at his ease than when dealing with Utamaro. Utamaro apparently lacked those magnetic traits which make his great contemporary, with all his eccentricities, so human and lovable a personality, and although, as Mr. Arthur Morrison, the great authority on Japanese Art, says, Utamaro has few rivals, East or West, "as a painter of the human figure in an exquisitely synthetic convention," it is practically to the narrow world of the hetairæ of the Nightless City and their patrons that he limits himself. Hokusai on the other hand draws on every phase of life in Japan, particularly on that of the common folk, and he treats his subjects with a humour and a pathos which carry their appeal beyond all the limits of time, space, and fleeting fashions. As Professor Noguchi very justly says, he is "un catalogue et un grand livre recapitulant les expériences humaines vers la fin du Shogunât des Tokugawa". There can be no two opinions on Hokusai. He is one of the world's great masters, yet withal personally very humble in his greatness. In the epilogue to the 100 *Views of Mount Fuji*—I quote from Mlle Maitre's translation—he writes: "j'ai pris l'habitude de dessiner les formes des choses depuis l'âge de six ans et, à 50 ans, j'avais publié bon nombre de livres de peintures, mais tout ce que j'ai produit avant l'âge de 70 ans ne vaut pas la peine d'en parler . . ." and, again as he lies dying he cries: "Comme je voudrais vivre dix ans de plus ! Sinon dix ans, j'implore Dieu de me donner seulement cinq ans de grâce. Alors je serais devenu un vrai artiste !"

These two little monographs are well printed in fine clear type on good paper; but the illustrations in that on Hokusai seem on the whole more successful than those in the monograph on Utamaro. "Fuji from the Mannen Bridge," "Fuji from the Ryōgoku Bridge," and the two-page "Windy Day" are particularly good; one could have wished that Professor Noguchi had been able also to include another from the Fuji series,—"The Fisherman at Kajikazawa."

HAROLD PARLETT.

An Historical Grammar of Japanese. By G. B. Sansom, C.M.G. pp. x + 344. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928. Price 21*s*.

There is a legend that St. Francis Xavier, the earliest of European missionaries to Japan, said of the language of the country in a moment of irritation that it was the invention of a conciliabulum of demons to harass the souls of the faithful, and many a despairing student must since have echoed his sentiments in language even stronger. It is doubtful if there is anywhere another tongue so bristling with difficulties, so circuitous, so lacking in lucidity of expression. Yet a number of Europeans study it. They are few, it must be admitted, and most content themselves with a superficial knowledge sufficient for everyday needs; but a small minority go deeper into its intricacies, and it is for them and for the philologists interested, as the author says, in the affiliations of Japanese that this book is meant. Mr. Sansom has drawn on the best sources of information for his work—the great pre-Restoration grammarians, Mabuchi and Motoori, the Japanese Grammar of Professor Koyu Yamada, the texts of the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, the *Manyōshū*, the *Shoku Nihongi*, the *Engishiki*, various *Monogatari*, and lastly those brilliant pioneers of European scholarship, Chamberlain, Satow, and Aston—and he has very obviously devoted to his task much time and immense industry and patience. Of the results of his labours the least we can say is that he has produced a book full of fine scholarship, lucid in so far as so complicated a subject can be made lucid, and worthy in every respect to rank with the work of his three distinguished English predecessors.

Japanese grammarians divide the parts of speech into three, *Na* (uninflected principal words), *Kotoba* (inflected principal words), and *Teniwoha* (inflected and uninflected subordinate words), a classification followed by Aston in his *Grammar of the Written Language*; but Mr. Sansom has for reasons of convenience, and rightly, adopted a compromise, following the Japanese classification where that seemed advantageous, and resorting to that of European grammars when necessity forced him.

The first chapter of the book deals with the introduction of writing from China and describes at length the difficulties which confronted the earliest Japanese students of Chinese in the adaptation of the ideographs, or logographs, to native purposes and how the ultimate result was a combination of two methods, the semantic and the phonetic, which are still in use to-day. Logographs, employed phonetically to represent particles and terminations, were originally written in full, a peculiarly cumbrous device; but sheer necessity forced their gradual abbreviation, and early in the ninth century they crystallized into two syllabaries, the *Katakana* and the *Hiragana*. From the discussion of this subject the author next proceeds to deal with the noun and pronoun. The former is, as he points out, a true universal—uninflected and thus incapable by itself of expressing number, gender, or case. Over a third of the book is devoted to the consideration of the two most important parts of speech in Japanese, the adjective and the verb (*hataraki kotoba*, work words). They are the only inflected parts of speech and have so many features in common that they are classed by many Japanese grammarians as one. Inflection, it may be pointed out, has nothing to do with voice, mood, tense, person, gender, number, or case; its principal function, according to Aston, is "to give to the same root the force of a different part of speech according to the inflection used". Mr. Sansom divides the conjugation of the Japanese verb into two parts, the Simple and the Compound. The former has five forms—the predicative, the attributive, the conjunctive, the imperfect or "Negative Base", and the perfect—and variations of tense, mood, voice, etc., are expressed by the addition of certain suffixes to these forms. There is not space in this brief review to follow in detail the author's very thorough and careful elucidation of the functions of these two parts of speech; but it is interesting to note that in Japanese a verb can on occasion be used as a substantive or as an adjective and that an adjective is subject to conjugation like a verb. In distinguishing the four regular types of the simple Conjugation of the verbs Japanese grammarians have recourse to a conventional table of the syllabary, classifying them accordingly as *ichidan* (unigrade), *nidan* (bigrade), etc., but in the grammars used by Europeans they are given numbers in the ordinary way, a method which has the advantage of simplicity. The Particles (*teniwoha*), which are essential to the formation of any proposition containing more than the simplest elements, the author regards as the most characteristic group of words in Japanese, and he divides them into two classes—particles affecting only component parts of a sentence and particles affecting a sentence as a whole. It is a very convenient arrangement even if, as he says, it cannot be supported on logical grounds. In the first are included what he calls the Case Particles (*no*, *tsu*, *ga*, *wo*, *ni*, *to*, *he*, *yori*, and *made*) ; the second comprises the Adverbial Particles. But in order to deal more satisfactorily with certain specialized functions of some of those appearing in these two classes, Mr. Sansom adds a third, that of the Conjunctive Particles. This is as interesting a chapter as any in the book. Brief sections are devoted to the Adverb—the existence of which is not always recognized by Japanese grammarians—to the Formation of Words, to Grammatical Functions, and to Syntax, and the book closes with a useful appendix containing a tabulated statement of the chief points of difference in form between words of the spoken and written language of to-day and those of the Heian period, when the divergence between written and colloquial first became apparent.

As was only to be expected in a work coming from the Clarendon Press, the book is well and clearly printed and singularly free from misprints. But it is a pity the index is not fuller. We congratulate the author on the very able manner in which he has handled a most difficult subject and hope that he will now write a short Grammar of the modern

Spoken Language to take the place of some of those turgid tomes with which the unfortunate ordinary student is forced at present to wrestle. It is very gratifying to note that His Majesty's Consular Service in Japan can still on occasion produce a scholar worthy of its early reputation.

HAROLD PARLETT.

GUIDE-POSTS TO CHINESE PAINTING. By LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY. Edited by Dr. PAUL PELLIOT. 10 × 7½, 233 pp. + 21 pl. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1927.

When the name of Paul Pelliot appears as connected with any work on a Chinese subject, those interested in the literature and art of China anticipate a treat from a master. This book professes to have been edited by him, but he has already published a disclaimer, stating that he has had nothing to do either with the authorship or with the editing of the book. A perusal of the work does not reveal any sign of the Pelliot touch.

The aim of the book is to help those who are interested in Chinese paintings to a keener appreciation of them. That aim is worthy of commendation and the work will be of use to anyone who has not read any other book on the subject of Chinese painting, but it adds little or nothing to the information that has already been published in previous works dealing with that subject. The illustrations given are well produced but hardly justify the advertisement of the work as "lavishly illustrated". There can be no doubt that Chinese paintings are attracting increased attention, and the author very rightly has sounded a note of warning regarding the danger of judging "the painting by the famous name attached to it" rather than by "its intrinsic beauty". There is undoubtedly a tendency on the part of many to profess to admire only what is represented to be ancient, who seem to forget that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever", regardless of age, and that many so-called ancient masterpieces are made to appear old in order to deceive those who "criticize by the ear and judge by the sound".

J. H. S. L.

THE DERIVATION OF SOME KAKIEMON DESIGNS ON PORCELAIN. By KENNETH DINGWALL. 11 × 8½, 28 pp. + 6 plates. London: For restricted circulation by E. Benn. 1926.

This is a paper which was read before the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1924, but the length of it precluded publication in the *Transactions*. Japanese porcelain is notoriously less known to us than Chinese; in fact, few of the finest pieces are to be found outside Japan, and that is one reason for our neglect. Therefore this contribution to the subject is specially welcome.

Colonel Dingwall explains that the production of "Kakiemon" wares flourished during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The chief designs which he discusses are the tiger, phoenix, banded-hedge, and the longevity triad of bamboo, plum, and pine. Doubtless he is right in tracing Chinese derivations *via* Corean channels for all of them, except the banded-hedge. I venture to question, however, the plausibility of his theory that the frequent presence of the tiger motive on these wares was occasioned by the Coreans' terror at a time when their country was overrun by tigers. Apart from its use with symbolic or episodic significance, this motive has always been a favourite in the Far East because it lends itself to pictorial treatment and because the tiger is regarded as the King of Beasts.

W. P. Y.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOCIETY. Four vols.: 1923–4, 1924–5, 1925–6, and 1926–7; each 11 × 8½, 32 pp. + 8 plates. London: For private circulation. Published for the Society by E. Benn.

These maintain the high standard set by the first two volumes, and manifest the prosperous progress of the Society. In point of numbers its likeness to that famous Sung coterie of the Western Garden has lessened; for lately the membership has grown beyond the original limit of fifteen. The periodic symposia, continued without a break, are here recorded. In the first volume under review, Mr. Bernard Rackham gives a retrospect of the scanty pre-Ming wares in Western collections prior to the year 1900. Mr. O. C. Raphael follows with an account of fragments found at Fustat, a ruined suburb of Cairo. He is of opinion that potteries flourished there for several centuries, and continued after the city was deserted in the thirteenth century, and that the Fustat potters of all ages copied Persian, Syrian, and Chinese models. Chemical analyses and microscopical examinations of ceramic fragments and of local materials by Mr. D. Northall-Laurie provide results which support Mr. Raphael's surmises. A paper on the chemistry of Temmoka glazes reports investigations of Mr. A. L. Hetherington carried out under the guidance of Sir Herbert Jackson. Among many technical data of moment, it shows what diverse results may come from the use of ferric oxide.

Another illuminating article is that by Sir Herbert Jackson in the second volume under review. It deals with the iridescence on early Chinese glazes. The writer's conclusions are much the same as those reached concerning patina on bronzes as an index to age, since he finds iridescence a guide only within wide limits. Not only the constitution of the material but the factors of environment, such as temperature and moisture, must be taken into account while estimating the significance of disintegration of glazes, and these factors can seldom be traced. The volume closes with Mr. Hobson's paper "On Some Potteries in Kiangsu and Anhwei".

The next volume contains a report by Mr. Hobson of a find which provides an argument against Dr. Rücker-Embden's doubts concerning the antiquity of what we accept as Han green-glazed pottery. The find is a bell-shaped piece of glazed pottery obtained from a vaulted tomb recently opened near Ch'êng-tu. The information comes from Mr. Torrance, who gives his opinion that the tomb is of the Former Han period. A fragment, examined by Sir Herbert Jackson, proves to be covered with a fully disintegrated lead glaze. Later information dispels all doubt as to the antiquity of Chinese glazes. Glazed pottery has been found in dated Chinese tombs of the Han period excavated by Japanese archaeologists in Corea.

In the last volume Professor Collie brings forward four pieces of lead-glazed porcelain as evidence of the disputed use of lead glazes under the Sung. His theory of Sung attribution is based on crystalline changes in the glaze and alleged provenance from a certain Sung tomb, where his specimens are said to have been found associated with typical Sung ware. He does not state the origin of the latter data. My experience is that such accounts from native sources are entirely unreliable. Sir Herbert Jackson's opinion is that the state of crystallization points to an early T'ang date. The last-mentioned authority himself contributes a valuable article on *ying ch'ing* fragments examined by the microscope and by other means.

Mr. Hobson describes some fragments of Yüan or late Sung blue-and-white ware excavated at Aidhab, a Red Sea port destroyed in 1426. A celadon fragment bears an inscription in the Bashpa script which was invented in the thirteenth century to represent Chinese words in Tibetan characters, and was adopted by the Chinese Court in the early years of the Yüan dynasty.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD, or the After-Death Experiences on the *Bardo* Plane, according to Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering. By W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ, M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc. 9 in. by 6 in., pp. xliv + 248, 6 plates and 5 wood-cuts. Oxford University Press, 1927.

This interesting book will probably arouse strongly conflicting emotions in its readers, unless they are in complete sympathy with the author's outlook, a curious combination of scientific accuracy and romanticism.

The main part of the book is an excellent and scholarly translation into English by a very distinguished Tibetan scholar recently deceased of a text of Tibetan *Mahāyāna* Buddhism entitled *Bardo Thödol*. This text is customarily recited a number of times in the presence of a deceased person during the first forty-nine days after his death, and is intended to guide him through the difficulties and dangers which he will encounter during that period when he is in the *Bardo* state, i.e. a sort of intermediate existence before his next incarnation.

Dr. Evans-Wentz's introduction expounds the religious beliefs of the sect who use this work in a clear and sympathetic manner and is most interesting.

So far the book can be accorded unstinted praise. But many, perhaps most, readers will withhold their sympathy from much of the other matter contained in the introduction and particularly in the notes to the introduction and text.

The first point of controversy which arises is the date and authorship of the text itself. It is common ground that all the MSS. are comparatively modern. The natural conclusion would, therefore, be that the work itself is comparatively modern. This is, *prima facie*, borne out by internal evidence. The account of the phenomena of the *Bardo* state has the appearance of being a statement of beliefs which are fundamentally of a very low order, derived from the teachings of the magician and mystery-monger. Technically speaking, the foundation is Tantric Buddhism of a debased type. Beliefs of this kind are no doubt of great antiquity, but they belong to the pre-Aryan stratum and were received into the pure Buddhist faith only comparatively recently. The statement of these beliefs appears to have been worked over by more enlightened persons, who have realized that the account of the next world which they give is unworthy of a spiritual religion, but instead of discarding it *in toto* have endeavoured to interpret it allegorically.

This is not an unusual phenomenon in cases where persons of an elevated and spiritual disposition are compelled by their birth and environment to accept as inspired scriptures documents containing beliefs which they recognize to be of a degraded type.

This is not, however, the attitude taken up by Dr. Evans-Wentz. He is not prepared to admit a debased substratum, and is, therefore, driven to the contention that the work goes back to the earliest period of Tibetan Buddhism, was compiled in its present form by persons of high spirituality who spoke deliberately in allegory (for the curious and anti-social reason that they did not wish too many people to understand it !), and was either handed down orally for many hundred years before being committed to writing, or deliberately concealed by the original author and rediscovered and published by him in a later incarnation at a much later date.

Such an idea must necessarily be pure theory ; this is admitted, but it is contended that it is a better theory than the other. The matter, therefore, becomes one for individual choice, but it cannot be denied that probability is on the side of the sceptics.

The other principal point of controversy is the possible relationship between (*a*) the beliefs regarding the next world stated in this text and the beliefs regarding the next world held in other countries, notably pre-Christian Egypt, and (*b*) their literary expression here and in other countries, especially mediaeval Europe. Dr. Evans-Wentz clearly believes that there has been interchange on a wide scale.

That beliefs do migrate no reasonable person will deny. Indeed the appearance in this work of the specifically Semitic sacred number, 49, has every appearance of being a case in point. But most scholars will prefer to start from the point that speculation regarding the next world has been a human practice from time immemorial, and that theories regarding it are prima facie a native growth until the contrary can be proved. Time will no doubt prove that certain migrations have taken place and the foundation of the proof must be the publication of as much evidence regarding such beliefs as possible. Dr. Evans-Wentz's contribution to this publication is a valuable one.

One aspect of Dr. Evans-Wentz's comments will probably cause considerable resentment. To his romantic temperament the "esoteric" presents an irresistible attraction and he is, therefore, so unwise as to express, irrelevantly for the purpose of his book, the view that "institutional", i.e. orthodox, Christianity is inferior to "esoteric" Christianity, i.e. the heretical and pagan doctrines of the various Gnostic sects.

One small point, he is sadly mistaken in supposing that the *mantra*, "*Om maṇi padmi hum*", which he reproduces opposite p. 167, is in Lantsa characters of the seventh century A.D. The alphabet employed is much later.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE VERSHIK DIALECT OF THE KANJUTI LANGUAGE.[1] By I. ZARUBIN.

Research in the language known to us in the two forms of Burushaski and Werchikwār has been so rare and limited that the appearance of any addition to our knowledge of it is an event of some importance.

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[1] *Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskovo Yizüka. Ocherk po Dialektographie Hindukusha. Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Musee Akademii Nauk.* Vol. ii, part 2. Leningrad, 1927.

I. Zarubin's present contribution, however, deserves notice for its intrinsic and not merely for its accidental merits, while its main demerit to many, the fact that it is written in Russian, is a further reason for calling attention to it.

Russian literature, like Russian caviare, is a luxury many Western scholars cannot indulge in as freely as they would like to do, and work recorded in Russian is apt to suffer undeserved neglect.

Zarubin's article is the most important original work that has been done on either dialect since the days of the pioneers, J. Biddulph (1880) and G. Leitner (1889), and it is the first comprehensive study of Werchikwār.

His material is very far from being complete, as he constantly reminds us, but it is extensive and he has spared no labour in digesting and arranging it.

The value of the work is enhanced by the candour of the author, who makes no attempt to gloze over deficiencies, or to assume or imply what he does not know.

All deficiencies admitted, he has been able to illustrate the most important of the grammatical features of Werchikwār, to give a large number of forms and to furnish a considerable vocabulary. The latter consists of some 600 entries, including, of course, a number of foreign words in ordinary use, and cross references.

The author has recorded a couple of short texts and has supplied a commentary on the Werchikwār version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son contained in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. viii, part 2).

In his bibliographical notes he has been able to supply references to some Russian records, not, I believe, previously known.

Neither Burushaski nor Werchikwār is a written language, and, in consequence, we have no historical knowledge of their development, and hence no means of solving many problems of existing morphology and usage.

In these circumstances the existence of two considerably differentiated dialects, Burushaski and Werchikwār, is of special value. Sporadic phenomena in one can sometimes be explained by the regular usage of the other, and comparison of their vocabularies may yield interesting and sometimes illuminating facts.

Up to the present, however, little has been possible owing to the deficiency of published Werchikwār material, which is practically confined to the text of the Prodigal Son in the *L.S.I.* already referred to. To say that this is not perfect implies no reflection on the editor.

My own studies were principally directed to Burushaski, but the little I did on Werchikwār enables me to form a high opinion of Zarubin's accuracy and to congratulate myself on the fact that my observations, so far as they went, agree very closely with his.

A few examples of what may be derived from the comparison of Burushaski and Werchikwār may here not be amiss.

In Werchikwār we have a well-established scheme of inflexion of the preterite of the verb in the form :—

Sing. 1	*èta*	I did	
2	*èta*		
3 m.,	*èti*		Plur. 1, 2, 3, *ètan*
f.,	*ètu*, *èto*		

In Burushaski we have the following scheme, which is also found in Werchikwār :—

Sing. 1	*ètam*	
2	*ètuma*	
3, m.	*ètimi*	Plur. 1, 2, 3, *ètuman*
f.	*ètumo*	

But in Burushaski we have regularly in dependent clauses the 3rd sing. masc. form *èti*, and I have once or twice recorded 1st and 2nd person forms of the pattern *èta*, 3rd sing. fem. forms equivalent to *ètu* and plur. forms of all persons of the pattern *ètan*.

Now the first and second forms at least are so rare that one could only regard them with doubt and suspicion if we had not definite evidence of their existence in Werchikwār.

There are, in fact, two complete schemes of inflexion, one without and one with an *-m-*, of which Burushaski now favours the latter. These *m* forms Zarubin considers, probably correctly, to be in origin participial.

Again, it is interesting to find the word *bułto*, meaning " day ", used independently in Werchikwār. In Burushaski, as far as I know, it occurs only in compounds :—

B.	*kulto*	to-day (*k*- proximate demonstrative prefix).
B. W.	*hikulto*	one day.
B.	*hipulto*	day after to-morrow
W.	*hepułtú*	(given by Zarubin as " to-morrow ").

To which I may add :—

B. W. *yārbulto*, day before yesterday.

Zarubin gives *ułto* as an alternative form to *bułto* on the strength of *hikułto* ; but there and in *kulto* I think the *b* has merely been dropped after *k* for simplification. In *hipulto* the simplification has been effected by dropping the *k*. The result is a different form of the same elements with a specialized meaning.

I have once recorded in Burushaski a past participle, *nux'a* " having said ", annotated as an obsolete form, and in Werchikwār *nuxat,* with the same meaning.

Zarubin has recorded various parts in the negative only of the verb to which these obviously belong :—

past base, *axatan-* present base, *axati*(*y*)-

He gives it as the negative corresponding to the ordinary *sen-*, *si-* " to say ". In Burushaski the negative is obtained by prefixing the negative particle *ō-*.

ōsènas, not to say.

Burushaski *tsè* (conditional particle) is represented in Werchikwār by *tsek*, which may be compared with Nagiri Burushaski *tsik*, and perhaps with Ṣḥina *sik*.

Werchikwār forms are sometimes more complete, at least longer, than Burushaski ones :—

W.	*asúmen*, plur.	*asumiyu*	star.
B.	*as'i*	*as'imuts*	
W.	*yast*		his sister.
B.	*yas*		
W.	*amutúg*		now.
B.	*mūto, mū*		

W. *akúin* (*gunts*), to-day, cf. B. *kuīn*, *kuīnmo dèn*, this year.

The word is apparently only a form of the proximate demonstrative, "this," differently applied in the two dialects. I have also recorded this *k*- in B. with a prefixed *a*-.

We also find instances of the reverse, where Burushaski forms are fuller than the Werchikwār ones :—

W. *búšu*, B. *bušōšo*, calf.
W. *gilinum*, B. *giliginum*, thin.

Very common ideas are sometimes represented by totally different words :—

big, elder	W.	*nii*	B.	*uyūm*
all	W.	*kul, čik* (both used in Khowār)	B.	*uyōn*
small, younger	W.	*əčuyun*	B.	*jut*
I went	W.	*gała*	B.	*niyam*
I shall come	W.	*tsuram*	B.	*jūčam*

But the roots *nè* (*ni*) and *žo* (*ju*) are both known in W.

Another subject which it would be interesting to investigate is the borrowing by the two dialects from their neighbours : Werchikwār from Khowār, and Burushaski from Ṣhiṇa.

Borrowing has also to some extent been reciprocal, and Ṣhiṇa certainly shares words with Burushaski which are not of Dard origin.

Zarubin gives a detailed account of the sounds of Werchikwār, and I gather that he regards the special *ł* which it possesses as one of its most distinctive phonetic features.

This *l* he represents by *ł*, and states that it is pronounced like "the Russian hard *l*". He further states that it exists only in Werchikwār, and is lacking in the surrounding languages.

This statement I think requires modification. I have myself remarked this *l* in Werchikwār, e.g.

dulum, it was.

But there is also in Khowār (Chitrāli) a peculiar *l*, which I think is identical with, or closely allied to it.

This special *l* in Khowār is recognized by Khowar speakers, and an *ḷ* with "a sound between *l* and *r*" is mentioned by O'Brien though he does not appear to differentiate it in his vocabulary. It is not noticed in the *Linguistic Survey of India.* To me it frequently suggested something approaching δ*l* or δ.

This sound I have not observed in Burushaski, nor anything resembling it.

Personally I should say that the sound referred to by Zarubin is not common to the B.W. group, but is shared by W. and Khowār. The question of its source remains a problem. If it is cerebral, which I doubt, Dr. Grahame Bailey has recorded a cerebral *ḷ* in Drāsi Ṣḥiṇa.

In Burushaski the most distinctive sound is one which I have now come to believe is a cerebral *ỵ*.

baỵum, mare.

The existence of cerebrals Zarubin considers of minor importance in view of their occurrence over "an extended linguistic territory".

More important in Werchikwār is the tendency to "syllabic assimilation of vowels" (translation doubtful), which approximates it to Turki and also to the Dravidian languages (Telegu).

The most distinctive feature of all, however, in the domain of phonetics is, in his opinion, the alteration of voiced sounds to surds between vowels. As far as is known, a similar change is recorded only in certain Yuzhno-Daghestani languages

(Report A. N. Genko in the Yapheticheski Institut, 12th June, 1925).

It is to be remembered, however, that this change only operates in certain situations, of which he has mentioned two in his § 12, viz. when a voiced stop is preceded by a negative *a-*, and when the pronoun prefix *gu-* occurs as an infix. To these should be added two more cases in which a medial voiced sound is changed to a surd stop.

The consonantal causative prefix *-*as-* also produces the change, and the prefix of the past participle *n* + vowel.

wəras, to be tired   *aspəras*, to tire
ganas, to take   *nukan*, having taken

The change in these cases is not limited to sonant stops, the sonant spirants are also affected :—

$\gamma \longrightarrow q$
and after *-*as* $w \longrightarrow p$

The change of sonant to surd does not, however, take place after the pronoun prefixes *a-*, *gu-*, etc., in any shape or form.

Zarubin devotes a couple of pages to discussing the philological affinities of Werchikwār (and Burushaski), in which he is inclined to find Iranian and Dravidian elements. He also cites examples of words common to Werchikwār and the Dard languages and the Eastern Iranian and Pamir languages.

Here borrowing at all periods may account for much, but the Iranian and Dravidian claims are more serious. As Iranian elements he gives the verb "to be" *ba*, which he identifies with the Iranian root *bu-*, *bav-*, and *ža*, "I," which he derives from *azəm*.

Dravidian elements he sees in the locative postposition *ulä* (B.-*ulo*), which he identifies with Dravidian *oḷḷi* and other forms, and the plural suffixes *-ng* and *-šku* (twice recorded by him), which he identifies with Dravidian *-nga*, *-ga*, *-ng*, *-sk*, etc. (in Tamil and Gondi).

It seems doubtful whether scholars will find these identifications convincing.

However this may be, it does not affect the value of the contribution of solid fact, which he has made to our knowledge of Werchikwār.

I should add that since writing the above a second recent work of the same author has come into my hands. This is a study of the Eastern Iranian language, Munjānī. It appeared in *L'Iran*, vol. i, 1926, pp. 111–200. The offprint is dated Leningrad, 1927. It is on the same lines as the Werchikwār article, containing 20 pages of introduction, a short text, and 50 pages of Munjānī-Russian vocabulary.

D. L. R. LORIMER.

SUMÉRIEN ET INDO-EUROPÉEN : L'ASPECT MORPHOLOGIQUE DE LA QUESTION. By C. AUTRAN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 11$, *h* + xi + 199 pp. Paris, Geuthner : 1925. 125 fr.

Many attempts have been made to connect Indo-European with other language-families—notably with Finno-Ugrian on the one hand and Semitic on the other. In this book we have an attempt to show a connexion between Indo-European and Sumerian. But whereas so many of these attempts have been rendered nugatory by their authors' ignorance of linguistic science and of the principles which must underlie any attempt to prove relationship between two languages, in this M. Autrun has shown himself well aware of the dangers which await the voyager in these uncharted seas.

The doctrine of the uniqueness of linguistic phenomena is forcibly enunciated by Meillet; and on that uniqueness depends the possibility of proving linguistic relationship. For proof of relationship between two Indo-European languages we depend upon the particularities of grammatical inflection more than on anything else. Similarity of vocabulary may be a matter of borrowing, one from the other or both from an outside source. But if we go back to a period before the grammatical structure of Indo-European had been developed to the stage at which we know it by comparison of the existing Indo-European languages, we are left with little more than the possibility of comparing its vocabulary with that of any other language-group with which we wish to establish connexion. But even that is not all. The number of Indo-European words to which we can assign definite, concrete meanings (like "father" to **pəté̱r*, "two" to **duwṓu*, etc.) is small; for the most of what we know of its vocabulary consists of roots, of which we know the *type* only of derivation and to which we can attach only vague and generalized conceptions. To find similarities of sound between such vaguely known roots in one hypothetical language with similar roots in another hypothetical or imperfectly known language can bring little conviction of relationship.

None has realized this essential difficulty more clearly than M. Autrun, and his recognition of it greatly enhances the value of his exposition. It follows then that an important section of the book is that in which he draws comparison between certain grammatical features of Indo-European and Sumerian, notably some of the case-affixes. The parallels at first sight are striking. But the sum total of exact correspondence is slight, and not perhaps beyond the possibility of chance.

In the domain of vocabulary also, though here the proof is less cogent, there are, it is true, some striking resemblances. Nursery words like *ad* 'father': Gk. *ἄττα* prove little; nor can the comparison of *ár* 'glory' with an IE. **er-* having the vague meaning 'to raise' (or 'to move') be held convincing. A slip causes a greater resemblance in *dag* 'to be bright' with IE. **dagh-* 'to burn': for the latter should be **dheg*^{w}*h- dhog*^{w}*h-* (Lat. *foveo*, etc.). Nevertheless the number of agreements is striking, and almost beyond the realm of chance. We are thus left with two possibilities: ultimate relationship or borrowing. The latter may well be the case in a comparison like *agar* 'field' with IE. **aĝros*, of which the vowel *a* makes its ultimate IE.

origin suspect, and of which the generally accepted derivation from a root *$a\hat{g}$- (in Lat. *ago*, etc.) is by no means clear.

On this evidence, it is true, we can come to no certain conclusion ; but the facts thus soberly exposed by the author must be kept in mind whenever the further relations of Indo-European are considered.

R. L. TURNER.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHINA (ṢINĀ) LANGUAGE. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY, M.A., B.D., D.Litt. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, xv + 285 pp. R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, 1924.

Shina is an Indo-Aryan language belonging to that NW. group of dialects which, on account of certain common characteristics, it is convenient to class as Dardic. These dialects have more than others been cut off from the general development of Indo-Aryan in India and particularly from the influence in later years of literary Sanskrit. Knowledge of them is therefore of the greatest importance in the study of the comparative grammar of the Indo-Aryan languages. The language of this group hitherto best known, chiefly owing to the work of Sir George Grierson, was Kashmiri. The other Dardic languages, including Shina, were known only from very imperfect and fragmentary sources. Now with the publication of this book Dr. Bailey has enormously enlarged our knowledge. He has dealt in full detail with the dialect of Gilgit, fairly fully with that of Kohistan and Gures, and has added notes on that of Dras. In addition to the grammar, there are good vocabularies, both Shina-English and English-Shina for Gilgiti, English-Shina only for the others : the first contains well over 2000 words.

Dr. Bailey contents himself with a description of the language ; but in estimating the value of his book it is necessary to point to some of the conclusions to which his new facts lead the comparativist. First he has established quite clearly the survival of the three sibilants—*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*—

corresponding in general with those of Sanskrit, except that *ṣ* before *y* is palatalized (as in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in general): e.g. *túśĕi* '(belly) is filled' < *tuṣyati*; and that *ś* before *r* becomes *ṣ*, e.g. *śăṣ* 'mother-in-law' < *śvaśrūḥ*. He establishes also the existence of two series of *ch*-sounds, one palatal—*c ch j* (*ź*)—the other cerebral—*c̣ c̣h j̣* (*ẓ*). The first correspond to Skt. *c ch j* (*ty thy dy dhy*; the second to *tr*, *kṣ*, *dr dhr*, *br bhr*.

The equation *c̣h* < *kṣ* is particularly interesting. In most of the modern IA. languages extensive dialectical borrowing has largely obscured the boundaries of the isoglosses *kṣ* > *kkh* and *kṣ* > *cch*, although J. Bloch shows that for Marathi at least *cch* was the real development. But for Shina (and the Dardic languages in general) the case is quite plain: it is a *cch*- or rather a *c̣c̣h*-language. Out of 27 words containing original Skt. *kṣ*, one only has *k*(*h*), viz. *lăk* '100000', which is particularly liable to be a loan; two have *c*(*h*), *kăcị* < *kakṣyà*- (palatalized by *y*) and *bĕchóĭkị* 'to beg', which is perhaps a loan from Kashmiri *bēchun* < *bhíkṣate*; 24 have *c̣*(*h*). This again agrees with the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

The confusion of *d*(*h*)*r* and *b*(*h*)*r* as *j̣* (*ẓ*) is shared not only by the other Dardic languages, but extends into W. Pahari, for, as Sir George Grierson points out, Bhadrawāhī has *ḍhḷ* for both: *bhrā́tā* > Sh. *j̣ā*, Bhad. *ḍhḷā*; *abhrá*—> Sh. *áẓŭ* 'cloud', *ārdrá*—> Sh. *áẓŭ* 'wet'.

The voicing of single intervocalic consonants which in India proper was confined to plosives is here extended to the sibilants: -*ś*- -*ṣ*- -*s*- become *ź ẓ z*, the last in the Gilgit dialect eventually disappearing. The beginnings of this process are probably to be seen in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Niya, in which different signs are used on the one hand for *s*- and -*ss*-, and on the other for -*s*-.

Another peculiarity of Shina is the disappearance of Skt. intervocalic -*ṭ*(*h*)- -*ḍ*(*h*), while it retains -*r*- and -*l*-:—Skt. *akṣoṭa*- *ghaṭaka*- *caṭaka*- *lalāṭa*- *kaṭaka*- *sphāṭayati* *kuṭa*-

sphoṭa- paṭhati śóḍaśa nipīḍayati dhūli- (< **dhūḍi-*, cf. Sindhi *dhūṛi*) become *ăçhŏ́ găi cãi niláu kāo faiijoiki kúi phoĕ payōṇụ ṣōĩ niẽ́i udū*; Pali *kaṭhita- dāṭhā* appear as *kăyóiki dãi.*

It shows also the archaic preservation of *-m-* (like other Dardic languages and Singhalese) and the distinction between Skt. *y-* and *j-*, which has been lost except in Dardic, Sindhi and Singhalese; and between *-n-* and *-ṇ-* (preserved also in old Singhalese).

Sir George Grierson has classed the Dardic languages as belonging neither to the Indo-Aryan nor to the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian (Aryan), but as forming a third and independent branch. But in the phonology of Shina there is nothing which forbids derivation from the form of language represented by the Rigveda, while on the other hand forms quoted by Dr. Bailey show clearly that the ancestor of Shina underwent those very sound-changes which distinguish Sanskrit (or Indo-Aryan) from the other Indo-Iranian languages. IE. °*r* > *ir/ur*, not *ar*: *gıri* ' rock ' = Skt. *girí-*, but Av. *gairi*; *purōṇụ̂* ' old '=Skt. *purāṇá-*, cf. *puráḥ*, but Av. *parō*.

IE. °*rə* (*r̥̄*) appears as *īr/ūr*, not as *ar*: *ẓĭgŭ* = Skt. *dīrghá-*, Av. *dar*^{ə}*ga-*, *pūṇụ̂* = Skt. *pūrṇá-*, *mūtụ̂* ' coagulated ' = Skt. *mūrtá-*.

IE. *ĝ*, and g^{w} before palatal vowels, appear as *j*, and are not distinguished as *z* and *j* as in Iranian: *jon* = Skt. *jantú-*, *jīnu* = Skt. *jīvantá-*. Similarly *ĝh* and $g^{w}h$ both appear as *h* in Shina, but as *z* and *j* in Iranian: *hănzậ* = Skt. *haṃsá-*, *halı́ẓŭ* = Skt. *haridra-*, *hăt* = Skt. *hásta-*, *hĩu* = Skt. *hṛ̥́daya-*, *hăraṃ̂* = Skt. *hárāmi*, *haĩ* = Skt. *hati-*. The subsequent researches of G. Morgenstierne (*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*) confirm the evidence thus given by Shina.

Students of Indo-Aryan are fortunate in that Shina has attracted to its study two such scholars as Dr. Bailey and Colonel Lorimer. For Indo-Aryan philology has benefited greatly from their work. May their results stimulate others to investigate these dialects, which are probably among the last of living Indo-European languages awaiting description and which in all probability have not long to live.

R. L. T.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ORIGIN OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, xci + 1179 pp. Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Dr. Chatterji has written a book which will form a landmark in the history of Bengali and which will be welcomed and studied by all students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. To the elucidation of his mother-tongue the author has brought a strict training in phonetics and linguistic science and a very considerable knowledge of Old and Middle forms of the language, desiderata not always to be found in writers on the history of Indian languages. Indeed, this book marks an epoch, as the first considerable production of the younger school of scientifically trained Indian linguists.

The author has traced the history of modern Bengali sounds and forms from Primitive Indian (Sanskrit); but he has added also useful and illuminating discussions on the phonology of loanwords, both ancient and modern. Particularly interesting is his discussion of the historical conditions of the spread of the Indo-Aryan languages into E. India, and of their relations with the languages they displaced. This is a field which offers great opportunities to the researcher; and we may hope that Dr. Chatterji will pursue his studies still further in this direction.

The book deserves better indices. There is no subject-index, and its place is not filled by over 50 pages of "contents". The word-index would have been made far more useful to the general student of Indo-Aryan if it could have been constructed on the lines of the index to J. Bloch's *La Langue marathe*, or if at least a corresponding index had been added of Sanskrit words.

Such a work as this requires much more discussion than can be attempted here. For in it are raised most of the problems of Indo-Aryan history ; and if they are not solved, we have here presented the facts from the Bengali side, which may materially help their future solution.

A few points may be mentioned. The author is tempted to explain as pre-Indo-Aryan and even as going back to Indo-European some phenomena which probably find their explanation in Indo-Aryan itself. Thus the *a* of Pali *garu* is not the same as the *a* of Gk. *βαρύς*, which represents IE. **gʷə̥ru-* and has its regular development in Skt. *gurúḥ* : *garu* owes its *a* either to the influence of *gárīyān gáriṣṭhaḥ* or more probably to a process of dissimilation, cf. Pkt. *maüḍa- maüla-* < Skt. *mukuṭa- mukula-*, and *pahula-* (never **puhula-*) < *pr̥thula-*. Equally doubtful is the derivation of Pali *assa* from IE. **esyēt* on the strength of Gk. *εἴη* : more likely it is Skt. *syắt* influenced by the commoner strong forms of the present stem, *ásti*, *ásati*, etc.

The most serious fault is perhaps the failure to take sufficiently into account the forms of the other Indo-Aryan languages. No etymology should be made until the corresponding forms in as many of the other modern languages as possible have been considered. Etymologists are peculiarly open to attack, and amidst the vast mass of material, largely new, which the author has offered in this field, there is naturally something that is doubtful : but a stricter observance of this principle might have saved a few slips. *bhēṛā* ‘ sheep ’ cannot be from **mhēḍa-* **mēhaḍa-* < Skt. *meṣa-*, because Nepali *bheṛo*, Panjabi *bheḍā* indicate Middle Indian *bheḍḍa-*, for which earlier *bheḍra-* is suggested by W. Pahari *ḍhleḍḍ* and Sindhi *bheḍrī*. *bheḍra-* is quoted by BR. from Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. This is reminiscent of, and may possibly be derived from, *meḍhra-* in Amarakośa and in Hindi *meṛhā*, Singhalese *mäḍa* (through **mheḍra-*?—though the change is not apparently regular)—which in its turn may be connected with *meṣá-* (> Hindi *meh mes*) as a regular development of **maiž-dhra-*, but is more probably to be referred to *méhati*.

Part II, which deals with the history of grammatical forms, is equally valuable. Certainly a notable book.

R. L. T.

The Mirror of Poetry. By 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān. 10 × 6½. Miratushshir: University of Delhi, 1926.

The *Mirror of Poetry* is an Urdu work consisting of a series of lectures on Oriental poetry, delivered by him at the Delhi University. It is useful for university students and gives in a single volume varied information on grammar, rhetoric, and diction—information that is scattered in various old-fashioned works; but there is little in the lectures that is original or striking. The book is well and clearly lithographed, and is well bound.

D. C. Phillott, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. The Stone Age in India: being the Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar Lecture delivered on 10th December, 1925, by P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar. 9¾ × 6, i + 55 pp., 4 plates, 2 maps. Madras: Government Press, 1926.

The author of this interesting lecture, starting with an outspoken criticism of Darwin's theory of the origin of man through the accumulation of accidental variations, finds mankind's first home on the coast between the Indian Ocean and the jungles of Hindustan, and gives a survey of the culture of the palæolithic and neolithic ages in India as evidenced by the relics of their art and the data of language and religion, drawing the probable conclusion that "the Neolithic Epoch came as a result of gradual evolution from the preceding age" (p. 25) and pointing out that to a considerable extent "the Stone Age is still very much with us" (p. 54). Some of his views on matters of history and language, however, provoke respectful dissent. We can see no adequate reason for his acceptance of the Diffusionist doctrine that "the fashion of megalithic tombs spread from Egypt to India" (p. 42); his theory of the fundamental unity of *all* the Indian vernaculars, although there are some truths in his arguments, seems on the whole to be radically unsound; and in his denial of an Aryan race (or races) distinct from other races of India and of an Aryan invasion from without (in spite of the admission on p. 43 that "in the Lithic Ages, as later, India had an active intimate intercourse . . . with the rest of Asia"), together with the further conclusions drawn thence by him, he appears to bring his case perilously near to a *reductio ad absurdum.*

2. ASURA INDIA. By ANANTAPRASAD BANERJI-SASTRI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Phil. (Oxon.). 10 × 6½, i + i + xviii + 137 + xvi pp. Patna, 1926.

When once the brilliant discovery was made that the Vedic *Asura* is the same as the Semitic *Aššur*, it was patent that a man of genius would soon arise who would tell us all about it. And now he has come, in the person of Professor Banerji-Sastri, whose eye, ranging in encyclopaedic erudition from China to Peru, discerns the whole course of Asura history, and a good deal besides. *Omnia novit.* He shows us in these pages how the Vedic Asuras and Avestic Ahuras represent the penetration of Assyrian power and culture into Iran and India; how their tribes—Pūrus, Bhṛgus, Turvaśas, Nāgas, etc.—came to India by sea and land, and left their monuments in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa; how they, advancing upwards from the lower Indus, struggled vainly against the Aryan Tṛtsus and Bharatas descending from the north-west, succumbed to them at the battle of the Paruṣṇī, and partially fused with them; how the Bhārata war marks the Asuras' last struggle for independent existence, and Janamējaya's serpent-sacrifice "is an historical celebration of the conclusion of the Asura supremacy and the birth of a neo-Aryan polity"; how they likewiṣe expanded eastwards to Magadha (Jarāsandha !) and Assam (Bhagadatta ! !), and southwards as far as Ceylon (Rāvaṇa ! ! !), finally to merge into the aboriginal Dāsas. He can even discern their religion, their literature, their social institutions and moral ideas, and tells us a great deal about them. All honour is due to the intrepid Hercules Professor Banerji-Sastri, who has made his way to the Garden of the Hesperides and brought away thence—a *sky-lotus*, of a remarkably fine and large sort.

In view of the magnitude of this discovery, it is only a pettifogging criticism that would remark that there is not one passage in Indian and Iranian literature where *asura-ahura* denotes an historical people ; that the author's understanding of Avesta and Avestic religion is strikingly faulty and his knowledge of Assyrian apparently second-hand ; that his method of comparative philology is prehistoric (on page 101 he derives *virago* from *vir* and *ago*, explaining that it denotes " the power of man ", and on p. 113 he equates Uṣas with Isis) ; that he, a professor of Sanskrit, writes the verbal form *mlēcchitavai* on p. 1 as *mlechchhita vai*, and proves by his quotation on p. 20 that he means it to be read *divisim* ; and that generally his combinations and conclusions attest his power of imagination rather than his capacity of judgment.

3. CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA. [By] SITA NATH PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxix + i + 291 pp. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1927.

Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connexion the ancient pedigrees of kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic, and Puranic literature, on lines very like those followed by the lamented Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historic Tradition*. He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divōdāsa, his contemporaries (the Yadu Satvat, the Haihaya Vītahavya, the Paurava Kṛta, father of Vasu Uparicara, the Āikṣvāka Daśaratha Ājēya, etc.), the descendants of Satvat and Vītahavya, the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha descended from Kṛta, the kings of Hastināpura, the two Pañcālas, and Aṅga, the Ikṣvākus from Daśaratha onwards, the Janakas, the Ikṣvākus of Southern Kōsala, and a number of famous *ṛṣis*, and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisāra to Candragupta Maurya and the order and dates of the Pradyōtas. On the basis of these conclusions, and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation, he fixes the Mahābhārata War at *c.* 1152 B.C., confirming this result by astronomical calculations, and makes *c.* 1500 B.C. the starting-point of the later Vedic period beginning with Divōdāsa's conquest of Śambara, so that the Ten Kings' Battle falls in *c.* 1470, Rāma's conquest of Laṅkā in *c.* 1450, and the accession of Bṛhadratha I in *c.* 1425, etc., and "the Ṛgvedic Age extends right up to some of the events of the Mahābhārata". He moreover demolishes the Vedic chronology of Dr. A. C. Das, and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lōkamanya Tilak in his *Orion*—which shows much courage and independence. Although Mr. Pradhan's reasonings, in my opinion, are not all equally convincing, his work shows immense industry and ingenuity, and there is certainly "something in it", especially as some of his conclusions partly tally with those of Mr. Pargiter. How much historical fact lies hidden in the traditional pedigrees is still very uncertain; but the attempt to adjust and harmonise these is worth making, and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction. The task, however, is made vastly more difficult, and the results more uncertain, by the lack of good old manuscripts and critical editions of the Purāṇas; a really sound critical corpus of the historical parts of the Purāṇas would be an immense boon.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES. By NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA, M.A. Part I: From the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement. 10 × 7½, x + 327 + 1 pp. Calcutta: R. Cambray and Co., 1927.

Though marred by innumerable misprints, this work is one of distinct merit. The six sections composing it discuss, after a preliminary survey, the political institutions of the Aryans in the earlier and later Vedic ages, the period represented by the Epics, and the centuries which culminated in the rise of the great centralised empires, and finally the speculations and ideals that ruled the minds of men in those days. The task, as the author realises, is beset with difficulties, especially as our sources of information are relatively scanty and our terms sometimes misleading. A striking example of the latter trouble is the use of the word "democracy". Perhaps a *gaṇa* or *saṅgha* of ancient India might not unfairly be compared to a certain type of Greek democracy, though probably as a rule it was more like an oligarchy; but the form of government alike in the Indian and in the Greek state was far removed from that of a modern democracy, which is a vast ochlocracy manipulated by small opposed oligarchies. Again, in treating the evolution of kingship in India it is difficult to do justice at the same time to the limitations imposed by tradition upon early monarchy and to the germs of absolutism inherent in the office from the beginning; there is a temptation to generalise—and perhaps to idealise—*plus aequo*. On the whole, however, although some of Mr. Bandyopadhyaya's views seem to me to be open to criticism, he has handled his difficult themes with an ability and sobriety that deserve recognition, and it is to be hoped that the second volume of his work will not be long delayed.

5. HELENA WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA: LES COMPOSÉS NOMINAUX DANS LE ŚATAPATHABRĀHMAṆA. Première partie: Index de la composition nominale du Śatapathabrāhmaṇa avec quatre suppléments. (Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, nr. 10.) 9½ × 6¼, xxii + 134 pp. w Krakowie, 1927.

The present part of this conscientious work contains an alphabetical index of all the compound substantives and adjectives in the *Śatapatha*, with accentuation, translation, and references, which is followed by appendices giving lists of compound verbs, reduplicated words, derivatives of compounds, and proper nouns (simple, compound, and derived from compounds). Occasionally the authoress has tripped. On p. 16 *ātta-* is translated " mangée ", but it is to be analyzed as *ā-tta-*, from *ā-dā* ; and on p. 29 *kuvíd* is presented as a substantive meaning " interrogateur ", whereas it is an interrogative particle, and should have no place in this index. On p. 67 *prabhū́vasu* is given without its accent, and long syllables are unmarked in *sūtagrāmaṇī*, p. 112, *svayamātṛṇṇá*, p. 115, and *párā-bhū-*, p. 120. It may also be questioned whether *śímidā* (p. 96), and *jyōg jīv-* (p. 119) should be regarded as compounds. On the whole, however, the work is well done.

6. A. GUÉRINOT : LA RELIGION DJAÏNA. Histoire, doctrine, culte, coutumes, institutions. 9½ × 7½, viii + 351 + i pp., 25 plates. Paris, Louvain printed : P. Geuthner, 1927.

The design of this work is clearly indicated by its title-page, supplemented by the author's statement in his " Avant-propos " that he addresses himself to a popular audience, " hors du cercle trop restreint des spécialistes," and on the whole he has been fairly successful, for the summary accounts of Jain history, teaching, worship, symbolism, iconography, and institutions which he gives us are clear and on the whole correct. The popular character of the book may to some extent excuse features in it which the " cercle restreint des spécialistes " might regard with dissatisfaction. There is, for example, some vagueness of outline in the introductory part. The author on p. 15 asserts that the Buddhists were ultimately forced to leave India on account of persecution by the Brahmans, which is a flight of imagination. On p. 63 he speaks of " la secte Vîrabanandjou " as a Jain community ; but the Vīra-baṇañjus were not a religious body but a mercantile syndicate with a network of branches spread over Southern India and Ceylon. The capital of the Vāghēlās

Lavaṇaprasāḍa and Vīradhavala was at Dholka, not at Anhilwad, as stated on p. 65. *Siddhânta* does not mean "le code de la délivrance", as translated on p. 72, but "established view". The assertion on p. 272 that Jainism borrowed its theory of the soul from the Sāṅkhya is misleading: the classical Sāṅkhya, to which Dr. Guérinot refers, is probably later than Jainism, and he seems to be ignorant of the primitive Sāṅkhya, which was a different proposition. The statement on p. 279 that in architecture the Jains "ont atteint un degré de perfection qui les laisse à peu près sans rivaux" is far too strong: none of the existing Jain temples are marked by first-class beauty of contour and design, though some show marvellous delicacy of detail. *Bandé Djinavaram* (i.e. *Vandē jinavaram*) is wrongly translated on p. 327 "je célèbre l'excellence des Djinas"; it means "I adore the excellent Jina." Moreover, the system of transliterating Indian words, besides being singularly hideous ("Djnyatripoutra"!), is sometimes untruthful, for *gattcha* does not give a French reader a correct idea of the sound of *gaccha*. In a popular book, however, these minor matters do not greatly signify; 'twill serve.

7. BHAGAVĀN MAHĀVĪR AUR MAHĀTMĀ BUDDH. By KĀMTĀPRASĀD JAIN. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, xvi + i + 271 pp. Surat: Jaina-vijaya Press, 1927.

In these pages the author endeavours to give Hindi readers a survey of the political and social life of India in the times of Mahavīra-Vardhamāna and Gautama Buddha, and of their doctrines and careers; and to this a "foreword" in English is contributed by Dr. B. C. Law, of Calcutta, summarising the principles of Jainism. Writing from the standpoint of a convinced Jain, Mr. Kāmtāprasād nevertheless seeks to do justice to the other party, and he is fairly well read in the elementary literature of the subject; but in regard to historical and critical judgment his work is deficient, and it will scarcely interest Europe.

8. A Century of Passion. Being a rendering into English verse of the "Śṛṅgāraśatakam" [*sic* !] of the Sanscrit poet Bhartrihari. By C. W. Gurner. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$, v + 42 pp. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1927.

To render the exuberances of Bhartṛhari's erotic muse into acceptable English verse demands a higher degree of poetic talent and taste than Mr. Gurner appears to possess. His introduction makes somewhat more pleasing reading than his poetry; the drawings on the end-papers leave much to be desired in the matter of artistry.

9. The Siddhānta-ratna (with commentary) of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Edited with introduction, etc., by Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A. (The Princess of Wales' Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 10, part ii.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 1–15, 143–351, i, 1–4. Benares: Vidya Vilas Press, 1927.

10. The Prākṛita Prakāśa of Vararuchi. With the "Sañjīvanī" of Vasantarāja and the "Subodhinī" of Sadānanda. Edited with introduction, etc., by Batuk Nath Sharma, M.A. . . . and Baladeva Upādhyāya, M.A. (Id., No. 19, parts i, ii). $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 4 + i + i + 405 + xiv pp. Ibid., 1927.

11. The Mānsatattvaviveka of Viśvanātha Nyāyapañchānana Bhaṭṭachārya. Edited with introduction, etc., by Jagannātha Śāstrī Hoshing . . . With a Foreword by . . . Gopīnātha Kavirāja, M.A. (Id., No. 20.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 3 + 4 + ii + ii + 29 pp. Ibid., 1927.

The first instalment of the *Siddhānta-ratna*, an authoritative guide to the theology of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school, was noticed by us in this *Journal* for January, 1927, p. 168. In the present part it is completed, and a useful introduction summarising the system is added by the learned editor. Vararuci's *Prakṛta-prakāśa* is an old acquaintance, but the two commentaries in exposition of it that are here published have not been printed previously. The *Sañjīvanī* is the more important of the two, the *Subōdhinī* being brief and apparently based upon it. Both follow the usual lines of the Prakrit grammarians, but the abundance of examples quoted in them gives them a certain value. The *Māṃsa-tattva-vivēka*, by the famous logician Viśvanātha, is a tract on the lawfulness of eating meat, a subject of intense interest to orthodox Hindus, which, however, leaves most Western students somewhat cold.

12. KAVYAPRAKASHA OF MAMMATA. Translated by MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA GANGANATHA JHA, D.Litt. (Revised). 9 × 5¾, xiv + iii + 431 pp. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1925.

In 1898 a young student, 18 years of age, published in the *Pandit* a translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Since then the youth has ripened into one of the most eminent scholars of India, and now he republishes his translation in a revised form. The work is one of singular excellence, for the translator's unsurpassed mastery of Sanskrit literature, especially in the departments of Alaṃkāra and Nyāya, is happily combined with a gift of lucid expression. To the translation are added some useful notes by the Mahāmahôpâdhyāya's son, Amaranātha Jhā, which are a foretaste of a separate work now in preparation. As Mammaṭa's analysis of the art of poetry is extremely subtle and at the same time very terse, it presents peculiar difficulties to the translator; but it may be safely asserted that no living scholar could have produced a better version than this.

13. GREATER INDIA. By KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.Litt. (Greater India Society, Bulletin, No. 1). 8¾ × 5½, 44 pp. Calcutta, 1926.

14. INDIA AND CHINA. By DR. PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M.A., D.Litt. (Id., No. 2.) 8¾ × 5½, 42 pp. Calcutta, 1927.

15. INDIAN CULTURE IN JAVA AND SUMATRA. By Dr. BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJEE, D.Litt., Ph.D. (Ib., No. 3.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ii + 40 pp. Calcutta, 1927.

With these three interesting Bulletins the Greater India Society makes a good start in publicity, and we cordially wish it all success in its admirable design of propagating and increasing knowledge of the cultural influence of India on its neighbours. With Professor Jadunath Sarkar as its president and a committee of able scholars to direct it, its prospects are promising. Dr. Nag's contribution is an eloquent (perhaps a little too *à la française* eloquent) discourse on the ideals of peace, progress, and the "open door" which, as he maintains, have guided India through the ages, giving an historical survey of what he calls "her career of internationalism", meaning thereby her cultural relations with other peoples; there is a good deal of truth in his views, though we suspect he hardly does full justice to the other side of the case. The other two essays deal more with matters of fact. Dr. Bagchi briefly but ably surveys the relations of India and China, the ancient routes of communication by land or sea, the intermediary peoples (Yue-chi, Parthians, Soghdians, Kucheans, Khotanese, Tibetans, Mongols), the parts played by Cambodia, Campā, Sumatra, and Java, and finally "Sino-Indian collaboration", while Dr. Chatterjee handles well his theme under the headings "An Outline of Indo-Javanese History", "Shrivijaya—the Empire of the Shailendra Monarchs of Sumatra", "Java and Sumatra in Indian Literature", and "The Ramayana in Java". Though addressed to general readers, these surveys have merit, and will be distinctly useful.

16. DAWN OF NEW INDIA. By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI. With a foreword by Sir EVAN COTTON, Kt., C.I.E. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, viii + 126 pp. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar, 1927.

Three essays compose this well-written little book—"The Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal," "Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan," and "The College of Fort William"—and all are based upon the records of the Government of Bengal, which are copiously quoted in them. The theme of the first is well known, chiefly through the medium of Bankim-candra Caṭṭôpâdhyāya's *Ānanda-maṭha*, a novel which as a work of literature is excellent, but from the point of view of historical truth is utterly mendacious, representing as bands of saintly patriots gangs of ruffians who under the guise of religion robbed, maltreated, and murdered the unhappy natives of Bengal for many years, until at length they were suppressed by the vigorous measures of Warren Hastings and his officers. By publishing the unvarnished facts, Dr. Banerji effectively dispels the odour of sanctity that hitherto has clung in Bengal to the memory of these vagabonds, and thereby renders a valuable service to his country and the cause of truth. To turn from rogues to honest men, Jagannātha Tarka-pañcânana well merits the honour of a separate essay, for he was the chief author of the *Vivāda-bhaṅgârṇava*, the digest of law prepared for Sir William Jones and translated by Colebrooke, and he was equally eminent as a logician and man of letters. Finally the account of the College of Fort William is a most interesting story, which shows the fine ideals that inspired Wellesley to found it in 1800, and the excellent work that it accomplished.

17. KALYĀPAD-DHARMA-SARVASVAM. By MAHĀMAHÔPÂDHYĀYA SADĀŚIVA MIŚRA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, ii + vi + 4 + xii + vi + iii + 803 + 24 + xviii + ix pp. Calcutta: Bhārata-mihira Press, B.E. 1331 [1924–5].

The object of this bulky volume is to furnish a guide to the theory and practice of orthodox Hindus in relation to modern conditions of life. In spite of its theoretical rigidity, Hinduism has generally shown considerable elasticity in accommodating itself to circumstances, and of these accommodations our author gives us an exhaustive survey of fluent Sanskrit, discussing successively the legal concessions in regard to livelihood and travel, marriage and the family, caste, inheritance, and atonement for lapses, and illustrating his arguments with quotations drawn from a remarkably wide range of reading. To orthodox Hindus it will be very useful; it would be still more so if it were furnished with a detailed table of contents.

18. THE DISCOURSES ON THE PŪRVA MĪMĀNSĀ SYSTEM. By P. B. SATHE, B.A., LL.M., M.R.A.S. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 3 + 44 pp. Poona: Mimansa Vidyalaya, 1927.

In these nine "discourses" the author, with laudable zeal slightly marred in its effect by some imperfections in English idiom and spelling, expounds the nature and value of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system of doctrine in relation to religious and social life and civil law, defending it vigorously against the objections commonly raised against it in modern India, and pleading for the study of it, especially at the College recently founded for that purpose by the Śikṣaṇa-prasāraka-maṇḍalī of Poona. As an intelligent effort to enlighten the public on the importance of Pūrva-mīmaṃsā the pamphlet merits commendation; to scientific readers it brings practically nothing new.

THE OCEAN OF STORY. Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. PENZER. Vol. VIII. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, xxxv + 361 pp. London: Chas J. Sawyer, Ltd., 1927.

The extreme swiftness with which part has followed upon part of Mr. Penzer's great and valuable re-edition of Tawney's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* must undoubtedly evoke our admiration and gratitude. Besides the volume we are now speaking of, the following one, containing above all the extensive bibliography and indexes, has already been issued; and we feel sure that it will not be long ere with the tenth volume this magnificent work will have been brought to an end—perhaps within a period of less than five years.

The translation of the text has throughout been revised by Dr. Barnett on whose qualifications for this vast task we need not dwell here. Mr. Penzer himself has added extensive notes to those of Tawney, notes in which are stored up vast and valuable collections of parallels fetched from the innumerable works on folk-tales and folk-lore perused by the author. Besides he has contributed to every volume more or less lengthy treatises on various subjects connected with the tales, subjects which are often of very wide bearing and presenting a considerable interest. At times we, of course, miss some information which we had hoped and expected to find here. But that is the case with every work composed by human beings; and, on the whole, we must be very grateful to Mr. Penzer for the unsparing zeal with which he has endowed us with the fruits of his very wide reading.

There are several minor points, however, in this volume upon which we scarcely feel at one with Mr. Penzer. But it would be impossible, within the space allotted us here, to go into these things, and we must restrict ourselves to a few occasional remarks.

Añjanādri (p. 108), of course, means "Mount Añjana", the "Mountain of Antimony", and nothing else; cf. *Śiśupālavadha*, i, 15; *Epigr. Ind.*, vi, 323; *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, lxxi, 266. On p. 135 we have a word *tārkshyaratna*, which Tawney quite correctly rendered by "emerald", though in a note he professes not to know what sort of jewel it means. As *Tārkshya* is = *Garuḍa* the word really means *Garuḍamaṇi*, i.e. emerald.[1] On p. 244 we find *almisquere*, etc., explained by "the *salip misri*" of Egypt, Persia, and India." Mr. Penzer adds that "the use of *salep* in betel-chewing seems to have been of very rare occurrence". This we fully believe; nor do we see any reason why *almisquere* should not mean here what it always means, viz. "musk".[1] In the passage quoted from Varthema on p. 258, *coffolo* is, of course, an old mistake for *foffolo* = *faufel*, Areca.[2]

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[1] On this, cf. the present writer's work *Die Suparṇa Sage*, p. 379, n. 3.

Appendix I deals somewhat superficially with the "Swan-maiden" *motif*. The author gives it as his opinion that this *motif* originally came from India and spread in different directions to the most distant parts of the world. But the swan plays no part in the folk-lore of India; for the *haṃsa* is invariably the goose and not the swan. And, as far as we are aware there is little or nothing of swan-maiden tales in the Buddhist literature which would account for the spread of the *motif* with Buddhism through Central and Eastern Asia. If there be really a common origin of the swan-maiden tales it seems far more probable that at some remote time they originated in more northerly regions and spread from there to India and elsewhere.[3]

Appendix II is called "The Romance of Betel-chewing", and makes easy and pleasant reading while bestowing ample information upon a somewhat out-of-the-way subject. Mr. Penzer has here made some very important suggestions, and we would fain see him continue his researches in this fascinating field. We feel slightly astonished that anyone should write about the date of betel-chewing in India without mentioning the well-known theory of Kern on this problem.[4] But little harm is done by that as most probably Kern's suggestion cannot be upheld.

We should like to wind up this short review by sincerely congratulating Mr. Penzer on the success of his great undertaking.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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[1] Cf. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, i, 27.

[2] Cf. Port. *fofoli*, Dalgado, l.c., i, 400.

[3] For the sake of bibliography I quote here an article on Indian swan-maiden tales by the late Professor Johansson in *Finsk Tidskrift*, xlvi, (1899), 1 sqq. Cf. also Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii, 60 sqq.; L. von Schroeder, *Griechische Götter und Heroen*, i, 34 sqq.

[4] Cf. *Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pali-Geschriften voorkomende*, p. 6 sq.; also Speyer, *Studies about the KSS.*, p. 49 sq.

A HISTORY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA. By A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 4s. *6d.*

This is a careful and painstaking effort to trace the history of village communities in one portion of India, and to suggest the reasons for their decay. The author truly observes that there is an unfortunate tendency to assume that what existed in one Province of India existed in another, and that what was true of one age would hold good in others also. He is not altogether free from this tendency himself, as, for example, when he assumes that the observations of Megasthenes on the chivalrous methods of warfare in India applied equally in Western India throughout the ages until the Mahomedans (according to the author) introduced hunnish methods of barbarism. Nor is he altogether exempt from the inclination towards vague laudation of bygone ages. For example, he asserts that "owing to the absence of modern civilization and its artificial life, diseases were few. Elders again, both male and female, used to possess, until recently, a surprising amount of medical knowledge. Every person above forty used to know by experience how to treat himself and others in the case of ordinary ailments and diseases." As in another passage he states that the sanitary conditions in the villages have changed but little from early times, it is somewhat difficult to realize why disease should formerly have been so rare. The common diseases of India such as fevers, cholera, and small pox have certainly existed since the earliest days of which there is record, and they were presumably as difficult of treatment as they are in modern times.

The main contention of the book seeks to establish that village communities were comparatively uniform in the North and in the West of India, and that, at any rate, the communities of the latter had greater affinity with the Aryan North than with the Dravidian South. In order to establish this thesis, the author maintains that the chief contact of the Vedic Aryans with the Dravidians took place not in the Deccan, but in the Karnatak; and that there is no evidence whatever that Gujurat was ever a Dravida settlement. This view is hardly likely to receive general acceptance. Most authorities consider that the inhabitants of Maharashtra were largely Dravidian and, to judge from the authorities he quotes, this seems to be also the view of Mr. S. V. Viswanatha in his recent book, *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture.* It is, at least, still possible to argue that the name itself Maharashtra was derived from the Mahars, its presumably Dravidian inhabitants. The Deccan has always been the meeting place of the races from which the admittedly diverse Maratha clans took their origin. As regards Gujarat, leaving aside the question whether the Brahui remnant in Baluchistan does not indicate a Dravidian entry into India by the north-west, Mr. R. D. Bannerji and other authorities believe that the remains found at Mohan-jo-daro in Sind have Dravidian characteristics. It would be curious indeed if Dravidians were north and south of Guzarat without having entered and settled in it. Again, both Mr. Altekar and Mr. Vishwanatha lay stress on the point that the Dravidians conducted a vast maritime trade with foreign countries. One of the principal centres of that trade was Barygaza or Broach in Gujarat. If the trade of that port was not conducted by Dravidians, in whose hands was it?

It is at least curious that both as regards the Rayatwari tenure and the grain share, the likeness with the Dravidian south is closer than with the north, though Mr. Altekar maintains that the differences from the prevailing system in the north arose through the Mahomedan invasion of the latter part of India. The arrested development of the village communities in Gujurat Mr. Altekar, whose bias appears to be somewhat anti-Moslem, similarly ascribes to the replacement of the paternal solicitude of the Hindu rulers by the cold indifference of the new conquerors, though he admits that the Mahomedans did little to interfere with the internal arrangements of the village communities. But this hardly allows for the fact that in many parts of Guzarat and Kathiawar, Rajput States preceded the Mahomedan supremacy, were not greatly affected as regards internal management by that supremacy, and have in fact survived the Mahomedan kingdoms.

Mr. Altekar makes no mention of the mirási tenure in the Deccan, the existence of which would appear to run counter to his argument. The truth seems to be that the old kingdoms of the Deccan disintegrated far more completely than was the case with the kingdoms of Gujarat. This combined with the warlike and independent character of the people and the difficult nature of their mountainous country led to a far more virile village life in Maharashtra than in Gujurat. Mr. Altekar, however, correctly points out that the village councils were more informal and less Brahmanic than was the case further south. They were composed of the elders of the village of all classes, without any definite system of election.

The author regrets the disappearance of the old Panchayat courts, and seems to blame both the Mahomedan and the British Goverments for causing or accelerating this result by the establishment of a regular judiciary. He does not seem to allow sufficiently for the love of appeal of the Indian litigant, nor for the effect of the creation, in British times, of the lawyer class which naturally prefers the more complicated processes of the judicial courts to the simple and informal methods of the Panchayat. Efforts to revive informal and friendly modes of decision, as for example, recourse to conciliators under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, have always failed, and must fail so long as appeal to higher tribunals is possible.

The author demurs to the view of Maine and others, that the existence and authority of the Panchayat was due to the general anarchy of the country. He admits, however, that there was no State system of education, or of public works, or of sanitation, or of medical relief. The villagers had to help themselves, because there was no one else to help. Once a government was established, centralized as the author would say, or *ma-bap* as others might describe it, which did the work, however imperfectly, the villagers ceased to help themselves. The process has steadily gone on. Forty years ago it was not impossible to collect funds from the village for the removal of prickly pear, or the repair of the chavdi, or the deepening of the village tank. These funds obtained a grant more or less equivalent from Government. Now-a-days it has become almost impossible to raise money by such subscriptions; and, to mention just one result, the area under tank irrigation has in many parts seriously decreased.

As the author points out, the Village Panchayat Act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council in 1920 has proved a dead letter. No village has yet opted for a Panchayat. He might equally have referred to similar previous failures. The Taluka Local Boards might well be abolished, and the Sanitary Committees can only be introduced under the protests of the villagers concerned. While, however, the author enumerates several of the causes of the decay of village life, he somewhat curiously omits two of the most important. One is the power of the money lender and of the subordinate Civil Court. Whatever was the ancient status of the occupant of the land as regards the Crown, it is at least certain that free trade in land did not exist. The combined power of the moneylender and the Civil Court led to the passing of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act. This, however, has been at its best, a palliative, and in no sense a remedy. The second evil is the subdivision and still more the fragmentation of holdings, the fatal results of which have been shown by Mr. Keatinge and Dr. Mann.

It is interesting to examine the remedies suggested by the author for the revival of village communities whose decay he recognizes and deplores. He naturally starts with a few words of blame for Government, on account of their failure to make the Panchayat Act popular, though he does not explain how a system, which the people do not ask for, is to be forced upon them, and is still to be popular. He next suggests that the drain on village ability should be stopped, but he does not explain how the clever boy is to be prevented from seeking his fortune in a wider sphere. The Brahman boy has done so for many generations ; it is scarcely possible to prevent the Maratha and the Mahar from doing likewise. His further suggestion is that Government should restore to the village some of the local fund payments. Here there seems some confusion of thought. Government do not absorb any of the local fund revenue ; in fact, they supplement it largely. Localization in the village of the local fund cess would mean diminution of the resources of the District Local Board. The author holds that any deficiency in funds should be made up by compulsory unpaid labour by the inhabitants of the village. This would in our opinion be entirely salutary and useful, but it would hardly make the Panchayats popular, and seems contrary to one of the most cherished principles of the League of Nations at Geneva.

The author somewhat optimistically opines that Village Councils so revived could be safely trusted with judicial powers. It seems obvious, however, that village courts could never be successful, unless power of appeal to higher courts were debarred ; and, perhaps, unless the assistance of the local lawyer was debarred also.

Curiously enough, the author makes no reference to what is perhaps the most hopeful avenue of revival and regeneration, the Co-operative Movement. This movement does teach the people to help themselves and each other. It supplies an easy method for the deposit of savings. It can improve the agricultural methods of the villager, and it affords a loophole of escape to the cultivator from the moneylender. It can even do something towards prevention of subdivision and fragmentation, though probably not very much, without special legislation.

Although it is not possible to agree fully with the author's contentions, his book well deserves study and attention.

P. R. CADELL.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Vol. I. Oxford University Press. 25*s*.

This volume, written by Professor Arnold Toynbee, deals entirely with the affairs of the Islamic world from the conclusion of the Great War to the year 1926. It has been compiled with the care and impartiality to be expected from the author, and will be of the greatest interest and value to all students of Eastern affairs. The account of the resurrection of the Wahhabi power is of particular usefulness. Those interested in Indian affairs will find the problems of the Frontier set out with much clearness. The only point, and that a small one, apparently unnoticed is the series of petty wars and disturbances among the Baluchis living within the Persian frontier. Exception might perhaps be taken to the statement that, before Sir Robert Sandeman crossed the mountains in 1868, the Baluchis had been as notorious for turbulence and savagery as their Pathan neighbours. As a matter of fact, the relations between the Baluchis and the Authorities of Sind, who administered the affairs of the then frontier, had been friendly for many years, from the days of John Jacob onwards. Nor had the Baluchis who had immigrated into Sind and the Southern Panjab ever been so troublesome as the Pathans. Even the Pathans of the Pishin district had always been more commercially minded and therefore more tractable than the more northern members of their race. The point is of some importance, as it is sometimes argued that the policy adopted in Baluchistan could have been followed with equal success on other parts of the frontier. The author rightly points out that the régime followed in Waziristan is precarious, because is is at the mercy of Afghan policy ; and that, indeed, the importance of the Afghan factor in the

Indian Frontier problem continues and increases. The results of the visit to Europe of the King of Afghanistan will therefore have a peculiar interest to the Indian Empire.

P. R. CADELL.

L'ETHNOLOGIE DU BENGALE. By BIREN BONNERJEA. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx, 169. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.

This book, as the author states in his introduction, is but a sketch of the ethnology of Bengal, with a summary of beliefs and superstitions current therein. Chapters i–iv treat of the races and tribes found among the population generally, their religion, rites, and customs. The contents of chapters v–viii, which deal with demons, folk-lore connected with the animal and vegetable kingdoms, magic, omens, divination, and popular medicine, are said to have been mostly collected in the district of Nadiā, and may therefore be regarded as referring specially to that part of Bengal. In the notes references, collected with much industry, have been given to the occurrence of similar customs and beliefs in other countries, as recorded by writers on ethnology in numerous publications, a formidable list of which (well over 200) is prefixed to this volume.

Bengal is described as including all the districts that constitute Bihār, Choṭā Nāgpur, and Orissā (with their Feudatory States), Calcutta and eleven districts of Bengal proper, with the State of Sikkim superadded. Why all the northern and eastern districts of Bengal have been omitted, is not explained. Ever since the days of Akbar the eastern and northern districts have formed part of the province of Bengal, unless we except the few years between 1905 and 1912, when the Bengal districts were divided between two provinces by the widely condemned "Partition of Bengal"; but even then the Darjeeling district was left with the western province. Indeed, the ancient Vaṅga, from which Bengal takes its name, lay in the eastern area. The maps in Appendix A, which show the actual limits of Bengal, naturally conflict with the definition given. The population of Mr. Bonnerjea's Bengal is given on p. 1 as 74,745,000 ; but according to the table of religions the total is 79,973,161, while the figures given in the statement headed " Population of Bengal " (by castes) total under 21,000,000 (*vide* tables in App. A). We are also informed that there are 241,350 Buddhists in this Bengal. But where can so many be found, if the Chittagong Division is to be excluded ? Still more strange is the statement that among the important plants of Bengal are coffee and opium. The opium poppy used, no doubt, to be grown in Bihār and adjoining tracts ; but, as is well known, this cultivation has long since been stopped in those areas ; and we would be much interested to learn in what portion of the area defined on p. 1 coffee is an important local plant. Surely, again, the rhinoceros can hardly be correctly described as a wild animal peculiar to Bengal. It must be an extremely rare occurrence if a rhinoceros be seen now in any of the districts named. If the author had special reasons for restricting his survey to the area specified, the Gāro, Khāsi, Mīri, Ābor, Gālong, Poliyā, Koch, etc., tribes hardly fall within its horizon. As to the languages pertaining to the Austric family, the author would have done better perhaps to adopt the classification given in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. He might also have given his reasons for holding that the Orāons belong to the " Kolarian ", and not to the " Dravidian ", family.

C. E. A. W. O.

Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. By Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. 2nd edition. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xix, 416. University of Calcutta, 1927.

This is a revised and considerably enlarged edition of Professor Raychaudhuri's work, first published in 1923. Part I deals with the period from Parikṣit to Bimbisāra. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist, and Jaina texts—though he does not appear to place much reliance upon the last-named (cf. pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite quotations from the original texts are useful. Professor Raychaudhuri regards Parikṣit I and Parikṣit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Parikṣit. B "the great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brāhmaṇas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavaṁśa, or to Janaka Sīradhvaja, the reputed father of Sītā. Synchronizing Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Parikṣit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C., though he wisely avoids coming to any positive conclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the Purāṇas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Parikṣit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard also to the synchronism between Senapati Bārhadratha and Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. But until more convincing evidence is discovered, most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith, that nothing approaching exact chronology is yet available for periods anterior to about 650 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history; but it has been arranged in a fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72–3 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that Śiśunāga was later than Bimbisāra. The view recorded by Mahāmahopādhāya H.P. Śāstrī that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas, is vigorously controverted. Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Raychaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such, Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,[1] rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadeśa in the time of Pushyamitra, and that Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B.C., deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestion as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harṣavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Mālava and Bihār and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Maukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Aphsaṇḍ inscription of Ādityasena as having been defeated by Mahāsenagupta of E. Mālava, could have been the king of Kāmarūpa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that name, whom we know to have been contemporaneous with Mahāsenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted ; and it is a matter of regret that of the five maps entered in the Table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, viz. that of "Bhāratavarsha" appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Niṣādas, S. Kosala, Kāmboja, and the Rikṣa mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive, and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

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[1] For the latest reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription reference to the Yavana king, see *JBORS*, XIII, 228.

C. E. A. W. O.

ETYMOLOGISCHES UND WORTGESCHICHTLICHES. By K. F. JOHANSSON. 87 pp. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1927.

The late Dr. K. F. Johansson, the predecessor of the present writer as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Uppsala, was one of the most accomplished linguists of his time. His activities in his special field of research began about forty years ago. Together with Noreen, the great founder of modern Scandinavian philology, and the two very prominent classical scholars, Professors Danielsson and Persson, who are happily still living, he founded that admirable school of comparative philology at Uppsala, which, during its halcyon days, may well have been able successfully to vie even with that of Leipzig.

Johansson's occupation with etymology was of long standing, and some twenty-five years ago he began to plan an etymological dictionary of Sanskrit on a scale which in exhaustiveness and completeness, leaves every one of its predecessors far behind. Unfortunately, at his premature death he had only finished about two-thirds of the whole, which already forms a giant manuscript of some 6,000 leaves. Although it must probably be strictly curtailed, the present writer hopes, by and by, to lay this stupendous work before the learned public.

The little book reviewed here contains only four articles, dealing with the Sanskrit words *nepathya*, *nigranthana*, etc., *vaśā* and *vānya*, etc., articles which are of too great length to be included in an etymological dictionary. The manuscript was completed by the author shortly before his death, and the little book was seen through the press by the present writer. Every page bears witness to its author's vast power of combination, and truly inexhaustible learning. Not since the days of Pott have etymological researches been carried on on this magnificent scale.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

MUHAMMADAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE. By TAUFIQ CANAAN, M.D., Physician to the German Deaconesses' Hospital, Jerusalem. Luzac and Co., London, 1927.

This book is a reprint from the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*. It is a very valuable and interesting piece of work. The author has taken full advantage of unique opportunities of co-operating in the important task of collecting before it is too late all the available material regarding the folklore, customs, and superstitions current in the Holy Land. For a variety of reasons the country is changing rapidly. The simple, if crude, patriarchal atmosphere of Palestine is fast disappearing and a civilization of a more sophisticated nature is taking its place. Dr. Canaan's work is based on a study of 235 shrines, which he has examined in situ, and he has also made a collection of stories told about the local saints and of verses sung in their honour. He has too made a voluminous collection of Palestinian proverbs and idioms, which must be of much value and interest, though he has not drawn on it much in the present work. Apart from its value for the study of primitive religion and archæology, this work has a special interest on linguistic grounds. Many of the verses cited, though they have little merit as poetry, are of great interest from this point of view. The verses are quoted in the Roman character, which allows the Palestinian pronunciation to be indicated in a way that would be impossible, if the Arabic character were used. They are accompanied by translations, which are literal and generally accurate. Over one word, however, which occurs several times, I venture to differ from the author. On page 259 we have the line

šôbeš ʻar-rdjâl yom el-ḥarb mâ wallû

which is rendered " Recite a *šobâš* for the men who in the day of war do not flee ", and there is a footnote that the word " *šôbeš* " is unknown to a selection of six authorities cited.

The same word occurs in a line on page 312, where it is translated " Call a *šobâš* ", but no note is added. At page 320, where the word again occurs, it is translated in the same way, but there is a footnote to the effect that the word means " to chant a song aloud and in company ".

It seems to me probable, almost certain, that the word is merely the common Persian word شاباش (bravo, a corruption from شاد باش), which has crept into colloquial Arabic and that it is used in all these cases as an exclamation.

R. P. Dewhurst.

Iranian Studies. By Cursetji Erachji Pavry, late Principal of the Nasarvanji Ratanji Tata Zend Pahlavi Madressa. Bombay: Captain Printing Works, 1927.

This is a collection of essays on miscellaneous subjects written by a veteran Parsi scholar and translated into English from Gujarati by his son. They all deal with ritual and historical questions connected with the Zoroastrian religion. In view of the indifferent paper and printing, the price of this rather small book (Rs. 10) seems to me unduly high.

These essays are interesting and display a good deal of knowledge, but there is little or no evidence of any original research or independence of thought in their rather discursive and disconnected matter. The book as a whole suffers inevitably from a lack of co-ordination and unity of design. It is rarely clear in any essay exactly what position the writer wishes to establish, or with what object various points of detail are enumerated and discussed. The writer's method does not seem to be definitely historical, exegetical or controversial, and there is throughout no definite logical cohesion.

R. P. DEWHURST.

A YEAR AMONG THE PERSIANS. By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE. With a Memoir by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Forty years have elapsed since the late Professor Browne spent the year in Persia, which he described in what Sir E. Denison Ross rightly calls one of the world's most fascinating and instructive books of travel. This truly great book was published in 1893, and in the following year a long and appreciative review, written by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, appeared in this Society's *Journal* (pp. 194 et seq.). I feel that the appearance, long overdue, of a reprint of the book, accompanied by a sympathetic Memoir written by a scholar well-qualified to appreciate the author's unique gifts as an Orientalist, ought not to pass unnoticed. I have always felt that I owed much to the book myself. In 1895 a friend in Cawnpore spoke to me about it enthusiastically, and after borrowing his copy I procured one from Calcutta, which has been re-read by me more than a dozen times, and lent to many friends, English and Indian. Apart from the great enjoyment derived from the book, the numerous apt quotations in it from Persian poetry, rendered into English with an altogether exceptional skill and felicity, acted as a powerful stimulus to an incipient love of Persian literature. A further debt of a more personal kind was that it served as an introduction to the writer himself. I spent a few weeks in England in the winter of 1900–1, and in January, 1901, I went to Cambridge solely with the object of seeing Professor Browne. I knew no one in Cambridge at the time, and I was armed with no introduction, but by a lucky chance I found Professor Browne in his room on my arrival, and, after introducing myself as a fervent admirer of his book, I received from him much courtesy and kindness, which culminated, when I next visited England in 1905, in an invitation to stay with him in Pembroke College in the long vacation. He was a most delightful host and a most brilliant talker. It will always be a source of satisfaction to me that I had the privilege of reviewing the last volume of his great history of Persian Literature for this *Journal* and that I was informed that the review had given him great pleasure.

One small point connected with the book now under discussion was mentioned by me verbally to the writer. There is a very fine Persian couplet cited at the beginning of the sixth chapter, which Browne renders more than adequately :—

"Free-thought and faith—the upshot's one ; they wrangle
o'er a name :
Interpretations differ, but the dream is still the same."

This is attributed to Ṣâib, but I pointed out that I had been unable to find it in the Kulliyât of that poet. Professor Browne thought that he had seen the couplet attributed to Ṣâib in an anthology of Persian poetry compiled by some Turk.

There is another couplet at the head of the 17th chapter, which I have always admired very much, taken from a very beautiful ode written by the Babi poetess Qurratu'l 'Ain. The whole of Browne's rendering of this ode will be found on page 535, and it seems to me to maintain a remarkably high level throughout. I should like to quote it in extenso, but I limit myself to the dominant couplet first mentioned :—

"Sikandar's pomp and display be thine, the Qalandar's
habit and way be mine,
That if it please thee I resign, while this though bad is
enough for me."

Of this book as a whole it may be said that it reveals an astonishing memory, a knowledge of the language and literature of the country phenomenal in a young man, and a wonderful sympathy with all that is best in the culture and mental outlook of the Persian people.

R. P. DEWHURST.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE THESAURUS SYRIACUS OF R. PAYNE SMITH, S.T.P., COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY HIS DAUGHTER, J. P. MARGOLIOUTH. 4to, pp. xix, 345. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1927. 42*s*. net.

No one is more qualified to write such a book than Mrs. Margoliouth. Already before she has assisted her father in the compilation of that monumental work, the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and, paradoxical as it may sound, it is much easier to compile a dictionary than to write a supplement. In the former case much preparatory work has already been done, and although no doubt great industry and care is required, as well as profound scholarship, to gather it up and arrange it systematically, still greater is the care and competence needed for a supplement. One must be fully steeped in the knowledge of the whole material contained in the dictionary, in order to find out the lacunæ, and fill up the gaps discovered only by indefatigable industry and consummate knowledge. Mrs. Margoliouth has practically put now the final touch to the *Thesaurus*, for she has gathered up her material from a number of works which have appeared since the publication of that book. She has spread her net very wide, as the bibliography at the beginning shows, having included in it not only a large number of recently published Syriac texts, but also Manichæan and even Mandæan from Nöldeke's Grammar. Whether she would have been able to add anything more from gleanings of the *Qolasta* and the *Book of St. John*, published by Lidzbarski, must remain doubtful, for some of the words occurring in these writings in which I am specially interested are already entered in this supplement. I refer, e.g., to the word "šekhina", which has a history of its own, especially through the difference of the meaning given to it by Jewish, Samaritan, and Mandæan tradition. Full information is now found in the supplement, amplified also by reference to the Manichæan text, *ex ungue leonim.* All students of the Syriac literature are sure to unite in praise of this excellent piece of work. A word of appreciation must be added for the fine typographical execution, which one is accustomed to find in all the productions of the Clarendon Press.

M. GASTER.

SEFER HA-TAMAR. Das Buch von der Palme des Abu Aflaḥ aus Syracus. Ein Text aus der arabischen Geheimwissenschaft. Nach der allein erhaltenen hebräischen Uebersetzung. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von G. SCHOLEM. 59 + 50 pp., 8vo. Part I, Jerusalem, 1926; Part II, Hannover: Heinz Lafaire, 1927.

Dr. Scholem publishes here for the first time the Hebrew text with a German translation of a book which claims to be the translation of an Arabic work ascribed to a certain Abu Aflaḥ. It is called *The Book of the Palm-tree.* It consists of two parts. The first is a treatise on pneumatic astrological speculations, leading up to the second part, the practical application of those speculations, giving directions for the preparation of a bird out of the twigs of a palm-tree. It becomes a magical bird, able to answer all the questions that are put to it in a special manner. Dr. Scholem proves that the author, who is called Abu Aflaḥ al Saragosi, was really a man from Syracus. He was well acquainted with the King of Sicily, and the treatise is in the form of an epistle sent to the pupil in Marakesh. The author must have lived before 1100, since he refers to the Arab domination of Sicily. But Dr. Scholem goes one step further, and doubts the authenticity of the name. He characterizes the writing as pseudepigraphic. But the details, on the contrary, which are contained in the writing do not warrant the doubt as to the authorship of Abu Aflaḥ. True, the author describes his work as resting on one ascribed to King Solomon, who is credited with the creation of this magic bird. Rules are given in the name of King Solomon. They are very obscure. Dr. Scholem, who in spite of all these difficulties has rendered the text into German very satisfactorily, still in consequence admits that his translation of these twenty rules is tentative. The book is a very important contribution to the history of magical operations. The episode of the banishing of the ravens from the "island" of Sicily is an interesting parallel to similar stories of reptiles and other obnoxious animals being banished by saints or magicians. It is obviously incomplete, as no reason seems to be given for the persistent gathering of the ravens over the palace of the king (cf. Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 352). The Arabic original of this Hebrew text has not yet been discovered, which adds a special value to this publication.

M. GASTER.

OZAR MASSĀOTH, a collection of itineraries by Jewish travellers to Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and other countries, pilgrimage to holy tombs and sepulchres, with maps, notes and index. Selected and edited by J. D. EISENSTEIN. 4to, 352 pp. (two columns to the page). New York, 1926.

This volume contains the itineraries of four and twenty Jewish travellers who visited eastern countries between the middle of the twelfth and the middle of the nineteenth century. The work, which is written in Hebrew throughout, is introduced by the narrative of journeys undertaken in

Talmudic time up to the second half of the twelfth century. The author enters on his subject proper with the travels of the famous Benjamin of Tudela, whose work has been printed many times in the Hebrew original and translated into a number of European languages (twice into English). It is very attractively written, and throws a good deal of light on the geography and history of lands in Western Asia. Strange to say, the author omitted to mention Al Ḥarizi, a contemporary traveller who did not compile a historical account of his journeys, but described them in short verses embodied in the 35th and 46th chapters of his *Taḥkemōni*, maqāmas written in imitation of Al Harīri's famous work. Nearly all travellers in the fifteenth century were either French, Spanish, or Italian. In more recent times we encounter the names of H. D. J. Azulāi, Romanelli, and in the last century Dr. Louis Loewe, the travelling companion of Sir Moses Montefiore and Lady Montefiore. Each account in the book is prefaced by a biographical sketch. An appendix describes the position of important graves to which pilgrimages are still made. The book is accompanied by cartographical sketches and photogravures. The editor is to be commended for the thoroughness of the work, which could only have been achieved by industrious research. A translation should receive a warm welcome.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

ABENHÁZAM DE CÓRDOBA Y SU HISTORIA CRITICA DE LAS IDEAS RELIGIOSAS. Por MIGUEL ASÍN PALACIOS de las RR. AA. ESPANOLA, etc. Tomo Primero. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1927.

Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova is ranked with Ṭabarī as the most prolific of Islamic authors. The merit of "discovering" him is shared by Dozy and Goldziher. The former in his *History of the Arabs in Spain* gave in translation some selections from a treatise on love by this author (published by Petrof in

1914); and the latter in his monograph on the Ẓahirites gave extracts from the treatise on Heresies and Sects (published in Cairo in five volumes, A.H. 1317–21). Of this vast work Professor Asín Palacios, of whose work on the *Divina Commedia* an English translation has appeared, proposes to give an exhaustive account in Spanish, occupying numerous volumes; the volume of which the title is reproduced above is devoted to the biography and bibliography of the author. The materials for the life (A.H. 383–456) are fairly copious; in the first place autobiographical notices in Ibn Ḥazm's published works, which Professor Asín Palacios has collected with great care; in the second the accounts of the author compiled by the authors of biographical dictionaries. The Professor's wide reading in both Eastern and Western literature has furnished numerous supplements to both these sources. The charm of his style renders the perusal of his book unusually agreeable.

The love-affair with which the biography starts was introduced by Dozy into his history (*Spanish Islam*, translated by F. Griffin Stokes, pp. 577–80), who accounted for its chivalrous character by Ibn Ḥazm's descent from Spanish Christians. "In vain did such orientalized Christians repudiate their descent; in their innermost nature there lingered a delicate and spiritual element which was not Arabian." This view is assailed by Asín Palacios, and it would seem with justice. There is little in Ibn Ḥazm's love-story which cannot be paralleled from the poems of Arabs who had no Christian ancestry.

Kant observes that a change of religion is popularly regarded as discreditable, and this is true of even so mild a change as transference from one of the Sunni law-schools to another. Ibn Ḥazm offended twice in this way. He began as a Mālikite, shifted into the school of Shāfi'i, and again into that of Dāwūd the Ẓahirite. His chief historical importance lies in his success in obtaining adherents to the Ẓahirite school, whose fortunes are recorded by his biographer. It has long been extinct.

An earlier study by Professor Asín Palacios was devoted to Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on morals, which has supplied some materials for the study of the author's character. His practice was not always in accord with his theory. According to the latter the controversialist should be courteous in his language. In practice Ibn Ḥazm is proverbially violent, and his want of self-restraint is regarded as the cause of many of his failures and misfortunes. It may be hoped that his admiration for veracity received more practical illustration.

In calling Ibn Ḥazm "the first Historian of Religious Ideas" (p. 267) Professor Asín Palacios claims more for him than he claims for himself; for in his preface he admits that he had numerous predecessors. One, who in learning was probably superior to Ibn Ḥazm, is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, whose work was published by the late Professor Huart with the title *Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire.* In the list of works by Ibn al-Kalbī, who died in A.H. 204, there is a *Book of Religions of the Arabs*, which belongs to this subject; and the work of Epiphanius, who died A.D. 403, is very similar both in scope and spirit to that of Ibn Ḥazm.[1] It is, however, true that the latter displays far more originality and thought than could have been expected from an author of four hundred volumes. Ibn Ḥazm pointed out difficulties in the Biblical narratives which lay dormant till the rise of Biblical criticism in the eighteenth century. And students of Islam will welcome the profound study of this treatise which the professor promises us.

While he has endeavoured to render these Prolegomena intelligible to those who are not specialists, even advanced students will find them a mine of geographical and historical information. And since the study of Spanish has recently been making great strides in this country, the language in which they are written should not prevent their being widely read and appreciated here.

D. S. M.

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[1] Professor A.P. suggests that *Fiṣal* in the title *al-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wal-Ahwā wal-Niḥal* is "an arbitrary broken plural of *faṣl*". Few will accept this. It would be simpler to vocalize *faṣl*, since *Milal* with *Niḥal* furnishes a rhyme.

FRÜHARABISCHE LIEBESGESCHICHTEN: EIN BEITRAG ZUR VERGLEICHENDEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Von Dr. BUDI PARET. (*Sprache und Dichtung*, Heft 40.) Bern: Paul Haupt, 1927.

This work is a translation of select stories from the *Maṣāri‘ al-‘Ushshāq* of Ibn al-Sarrāj, who died A.H. 500. The original was published A.H. 1301 in Constantinople (Jawā‘ib Press). The title is rendered by the translator (*Ring*) *Kampfplätze der Liebenden*, but this is not quite felicitous, as it means rather places (or occasions) where lovers were overthrown; i.e. cases wherein people died of love, or, at least, were seriously wounded. And, indeed, the course of true love runs smooth in few, if any, of these anecdotes. The collector took them very seriously, as he gives chains of authorities, occasionally with dates, in the style of a traditionalist. The translator has endeavoured to group similar stories together, and has added a few notes. These are not always satisfactory. On p. 68 of the original a lover who is about to be beheaded in the presence of the Caliph recites a verse—

ولقد ذكرتك والسياط تنوشنى   عند الامام وساعدى مغلول

"Verily I thought of thee (i.e. his beloved) whilst the scourges were assailing me in the presence of the sovereign, and my arm was fettered."

This is paraphrased *er habe ihn bei dem "Imam" (in anklagendem Sinn) erwähnt*, and the note tells us that the Imam means the Prophet Muhammad! It seems doubtful whether the first note is correct. Someone hears a *hātif*, the Islamic equivalent of the Talmudic *Bath-qōl*, i.e. a voice from the sky. The note says *Hatif bezeichnet ein Wesen, das man sprechen hört, aber dabei nicht sieht. Es kann ein Geist oder ein Mensch sein.* Only extreme rationalists would suppose the speaker in such cases to be a man. In the main these notes contain useful references to collections in which the same or similar anecdotes are to be found. The translation is scholarly, but there are some slips. The name of the lady who is the heroine of tale 143 is surely not *Mifdāt*, but *Mufaddāt*. This name is correctly transliterated by Boucher on p. 6 of his Farazdaq, though he misunderstands it in the following line.

Dr. Paret is evidently right in rejecting the supposition of Chauvin that the "Israelitish" stories in the *Arabian Nights* were introduced by a Jewish editor. The nature and source of these *Isrā'īliyyāt* would well deserve a special study; there are frequent citations from them in the *Qūt al-Qulūb*, whose author died A.H. 386. A collection of such Apocrypha must have existed before that date.

D. S. M.

THE ALTARS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 4to, pp. 34. Leipzig: Hinricks.

The author of this treatise presents another instalment of his famed Bible studies. In applying the results of his legal training to the methods of modern criticism, he struck out new lines showing up errors in the writings of leading scholars whom the lack of this training led to the adoption of false notions. He avows that the effect of the strict application of the legal rule of *contemporanea expositio* has come as a surprise to himself, and he brings it to bear on this latent treatise. The subject, although not quite new, has never before been discussed as systematically and thoroughly. The author deals seriatim with the altars of sacrifice, dividing them into two classes, viz. cairn altars and horned altars. To these are added memorial altars and altars of incense. This classification and the arguments by which it is supported turns energetically against the notion that slaughter and sacrifice are identical terms in the Old Testament. In his discussion of the method of utilization he naturally gives much space to the difficult question of what sacrifices should be offered on the horned altar of the sanctuary. There were national as well as individual offerings, but there was also slaughter for food, and this was the general usage in Israel from the earliest times.

The author quite rightly stresses the point that sacrifices were not an Israelite invention. Archæology has shown that the use of altars goes back to remoter times, and was only directed into the channel of the Biblical law as a protest against pagan practices, such as shown by the instance of Elijah on Mount Carmel.

In so abstruse a subject which is even made more perplexing by textual difficulties the reader cannot be expected to accept every detailed proposition put forward by any author, but he can certainly agree to our author's conclusion that the sacrificial system of the Bible stands in close relationship to the contemporary Semitic system, and is clearly illustrated by the facts as to altars. In a few final sentences the author asserts that "the contemporary material shows that views which have enjoyed the greatest currency of recent years are entirely baseless", and "the sooner scholarship leaves the field of speculation to found itself on solid fact, the better will it be for its work and regulation".

H. HIRSCHFELD.

LE MAUSOLÉE DES PRINCES SA‘DIENS À MARRAKECH. By GABRIEL-ROUSSEAU. Préface par E. DOUTTÉ. Texte arabe et Traduction des Inscriptions par F. ARIN. Aquarelles, dessins et relevés de l'auteur. pp. xxii, 68, and 3 plans, with case of plates. 13½ × 10½. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925.

Here is presented with great beauty and scholarly care, rich material for the student of Muhammadan art and history. To begin with, M. Doutté gives us an interpretation of Moroccan art as exhibited in architecture and sculpture under the rule of the Banu Sa‘d. He contrasts it with that of the two preceding dynasties, the Almohads and Merinids. The first, severe and bare, symbolic of man's nakedness and mute obedience under the inexorable will of the *One*, invisible and omnipotent; the second, struggling for an expression of greater freedom and beauty, but (according to M. Doutté) with only partial success, for lack of the thrust of a strong national consciousness. Later the Banu Sa'd, flushed with military and mercantile triumphs, and having leavened the traditional faith with a warm humanity, find artistic expression in bold rectilinear forms laden with immense richness of decoration and colour. M. Gabriel-Rousseau follows with a description of the cemetery and buildings which is illustrated by charming sketches executed by himself. To M. Félix Arin falls the task of editing the funerary inscriptions, fifty in number. This he has performed with thoroughness, and we are given the Arabic texts, released from their veils of floral decoration and accompanied by translations and valuable notes. Three ground plans of the mausoleums by A. Gilles conclude the volume. The plates, which are in colour, phototype, and lithography, are magnificently produced and are prefaced by a descriptive index. The story of the great days of the Sharīfs, already recovered for us by the labours of Cour, Lévi-Provençal, and Fagnan, is vividly illumined by this beautiful work.

A. S. FULTON.

ANCIENT RECORDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. Vols. I and II. By DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago, University of Chicago Press. Price £1 per volume.

Professor Breasted, who edited the *Ancient Records of Egypt*, entrusted the companion series on Babylonia and Assyria to the capable hands of his colleague, Professor Luckenbill, who has edited the historical records of Assyria in these two handsome volumes. To the profound regret of his friends, they proved to be the last work of this great scholar. He died in London, 5th June, 1927, while preparing the further volumes on the historical records of

Babylonia. His book bears the seal of his University Press, *Crescat scientia Vita excolatur.* The plan of this series admits of translation only, with few notes ; the text is not given, and consequently the series can hardly supply the needs of scholars after the manner of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, now largely superseded by Jeremias and Winckler's *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* and Ebeling-Meisner-Weidner's *Altorientalische Bibliothek*. But Luckenbill's work has the immense advantage of being a definitely complete work for which the reader need not vexatiously await the continuation. The *Altorientalische Bibliothek* does give an exhaustive account of all the historical records of Assyria, but only vol. i is issued, which ends with the records of Salmanassar I, *circa* 1289–1261 B.C. Luckenbill has all this material translated in the first 48 pages of vol. i. The *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* is an ambitious undertaking, and at present Assyrian records are represented by only one book by Streck, on the inscriptions of Assurbanipal in three volumes, at the very end of Assyrian history. Luckenbill, in 718 pages, gives a translation in chronological order of the vast historical material of Assyria, and an index of all the personal and geographical names which occur in them. There is also a list of rare Assyrian words, and a reconstruction of the *eponym lists* ; the *king's lists* contain scanty and unarranged material, based upon the important Assyrian and Babylonian synchronistic list of Photo Assur 4128, and fragments of Assyrian lists of kings from Assur, published by Schroeder. He was not able to use the revised copy Photo 4128, now given by Weidner in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, iii, 66–77, where some very serious errors are corrected and the important discovery of an Assyrian dynastic list by Nassouhi in Constantinople, ibid., iv, 1–10, in which the lengths of a good many hitherto unknown reigns down to Tiglathpileser ii, *circa* 963–931 B.C., are given.

With commendable caution he does not commit himself concerning the violently disputed problem of early Assyrian chronology and gives no specific dates back of the dead reckonings of the *limmu* lists, 1103 B.C. Vol. ii (421 pages) is devoted to the Sargonids, and here, of course, the dates are given; in the valuable introductions to the monuments of the preceding reigns in vol. i, the author gives some dates, Salmanasar III (858–827); Assurnasirpal II (i, 138–99), 882–859, is left without a date; Tukulti-Ninurta II (889–883). Adad-nirari II is given as 911–891, but there is no evidence for this reign beyond the fact that it ended in 891. The *limmu* list, *KAV*. 22, v, 25 to 21, vi, *circa* line 22, assigns about forty years to Asurdan II and Adadnirari II. Great caution is preserved in dating all earlier kings, but the author states that he intended to discuss the chronology in the volume on Babylonian records. His solid learning served him well here; for as we have noted above, valuable new chronological material appeared almost immediately after his publication.

This is an extremely useful work, and for general purposes trustworthy. On page 111 the name of the early king, Ushpia, is said to occur in Cappadocian, which has been challenged by Ferris J. Stephens, *JSOR*. xi, 103; he reads *Du-uḫ-bi-a* in the Cappadocian text, where the name *Uzbia* is said to exist; i, 243, § 673, mention should be made of Andrae, *Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 169, and J. A. Craig, *Hebraica*, April, 1886; ii, 427, § 1194, read *PSBA*. xi, 286, for 268. The author carefully collated most of the historical records of the Sargonids which has resulted in clearing up and rectifying many difficult passages. This is a very important contribution to Assyriology. Note the remark (ii, 290) on Streck's edition of the inscriptions of Assurkanipal: "Most of the philological notes . . . would have been unnecessary had the author been able to collate the originals . . ." The author's translations, therefore, frequently present improvements of previous editions, and the valuable contributions to philology are silently given without remark.

S. LANGDON.

Всеволод Ф. Миллер: Осетинско-Русско-Немецкий словар. Под редакцией и с дополнениями А. А. Фреймана.

WSEWOLOD MILLER: OSSETISCH - RUSSISCH - DEUTSCHES WÖRTERBUCH. Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. FREIMAN. I. А–З. Ленинград (Academy of Sciences), 1927. pp. xvi + 618. 9¾ × 6½. Price 10 roubles.

More than forty years ago the writer of the present lines found Vsevolod Miller (born 1848) at work in Moscow on the Ossetian language and this was his chief interest till his death, in 1913, when he left over 8,000 cards of words to form a dictionary, of which, in 1903, he had already made mention in his *Sprache der Osseten.* The material was to have been published by the Academician C. Salemann, but he died in 1916, and the work was continued by A. Freiman, who tells us that the bulk of the dictionary is now almost doubled, though the original plan has been changed as little as possible. It will be news to most students that a language with no written literature, except of recent date, should have as many as 14,000 or 15,000 words in existence; it must have suffered many changes in the last thousand years without any controlling literary models in MS. form. It is to be hoped that this first part of the dictionary may soon be followed by the remainder; the whole will be of considerable value for the study of comparative philology. The large number of Ossets who for nearly half a century have collaborated give a reasonable guarantee that the book in its complete form will be authoritative and trustworthy. Of the orthographic system adopted it is difficult to say what one thinks; it is certainly not the best conceivable, very far from this, and we may hope for something better in a not too distant future, but any rash change is to be deprecated.

The most serious criticism to be made at present of the volume now printed is that it contains too many entries like the following: "Name e. Vogels" (twice at the bottom of p. 363), "Name einer Pflanze" (p. 386), "Benennung e.

Gestirns" (p. 380); there are several Ossets who know the exact names of birds, plants, constellations, etc., or could at least identify them so that the dictionary gave the precise terms in scientific language.

Like any lexicon made with care and adorned with explanatory phrases, this is a fascinating volume to pick up at odd times and browse in—e.g. the word "Бœгœнү", meaning "beer", reminds us how the Ossets more than a century ago came to be hailed in Europe as long lost brothers of our own race and tongue, and the editor has inserted proverbs showing how in the Central Caucasus ale is held to be a medicine for the belly and both meat and drink for normal men. Such words as "Дуне", p. 508 (world, universe), and "Дэœнœт", p. 529 (Paradise), "Гœда", p. 384 (one of the Pleiades, which the Ossets call "the seven sisters"), used as girls' names show us that the chivalrous attitude towards women characteristic of Transcaucasia in general is not absent from that region between Vladikavkaz and Gori from which the present Dictator of the U.S.S.R. (Stalin, alias Djughashvili) is said to derive half his blood. Numerous examples of "baby-language" will be found. Of the relationship, however distant, between England and Ossetia there are hints in words like "Гам", p. 380 (ham, fat on pigs), "Qаз", p. 420 (goose), "Дўар", p. 504 (door), "Qуг", p. 457 (cow), "Дон" and its derivatives, p. 499 (river, water, Don), and many others, and there are many clear signs of loans from Caucasian languages. This edition consists of 1,050 copies and we wonder how many buyers there will be for it in the U.S.S.R. at one pound sterling, and how many of them will take the trouble to work through the 86 columns (pp. 575 to 618) of corrections and additions to the text.

O. W.

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON AND THE *LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA*

The Society gave a luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant on 8th May, in honour of Sir George Grierson, on the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, at which eighty-nine persons were present. The President, Sir Edward Maclagan, was in the Chair, and in giving the toast of Sir George Grierson, said: The completion of this monumental work called to mind the classical case of the completion of Gibbon's *History*. He congratulated Sir George Grierson on the pluck and determination which had enabled him to carry the work to a finish. He emphasized the fact that apart from his linguistic studies, Sir George has pursued an effective and successful career in the Indian Civil Service, and had published many works of an authoritative character on Indian folk-lore, antiquities, literature, religion, and philosophy. He drew attention to the entire absence of any element of secretiveness in Sir George Grierson's method of working, and his constant willingness to help others; instancing his devotion to the work of the Royal Asiatic Society and the sister society in Bengal, and his sympathetic treatment of other scholars.

Lord Birkenhead, proposing the toast of *The Linguistic Survey of India*, said that had Sir George Grierson devoted his whole life to the conduct of the survey it would have been pronounced by those who came after us a work fully adequate to the intellectual efforts of a powerful and illustrious mind. It was altogether a greater achievement that a member of the Indian Civil Service who carried out with extreme efficiency his duties therein should have been able to undertake and carry to a successful conclusion so remarkable an undertaking. It was comparable not only to the work of Gibbon, to which the chairman had referred, but also to that of Dr. Johnson in preparing singlehanded his dictionary, and to that of the Scotsman Murray, who began that monumental dictionary of the English language which had lately been completed. Another name he could mention in this connexion was that of Sir Richard Burton, who was reputed to know about one-tenth of the languages which their distinguished guest conversationally delighted in. Sir George Grierson could understand 180 languages and 480 dialects. Sir George was one of a band of four brilliant men of his generation who came from Trinity College, Dublin, and occupied supreme positions in their respective spheres. Speaking for the India Office and, on this occasion, for the Government of India, he expressed their gratitude to Sir George Grierson, formally and officially, with the greatest emphasis in his power. He had rendered a great service to the British Empire and especially to India by the inexhaustible energy and wide culture with which he had undertaken and carried through this vast survey.

Sir George Grierson, in reply, said : It is just thirty years since I last had occasion to say something in circumstances such as this ; and, curiously enough, that was when I was leaving Patna for Simla to undertake this very Survey, the completion of which is being celebrated to-day.

I have said somewhere that the Survey was one long romance, and so indeed it was. It is true that we have endeavoured to record facts, and facts alone. But what facts ! At every stage of our work we heard inarticulate murmurs from the past—of days when China was pre-Chinese, when our own ancestors herded their flocks on the borders of the Caspian, or when some Indian Teucer, greatly daring, led his compatriots across the *ingens aequor* of the Bengal Bay to people distant Indo-China, and thence to wander almost as far as America across the islands of the wide Pacific. What food for imagination is here ! What history lies hidden under apparently dry grubbing among roots and fossils ! And then, turning to later days, there was the ever present contrast between the wild and the civilized. Wearied, perhaps, with the analysis of some savage dialect possessing but a few hundred words, we could turn to the Plains of India with their splendid modern literatures, and recognize that here was an enchanted garden, its paths almost untrodden by explorers from the West—not laid out by rule or governed by precept like its illustrious Sanskrit predecessor, but one in which Nature, suffused with bounteous sunshine, affords vistas of never-ending delight.

I must thank you gratefully for your kind personal remarks, and, if I abstain from protesting that they have been too flattering, it is because the compliments must be shared with others than myself. I have had many helpers. First of all I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Government of India, without whose constant support and help the Survey could never have been undertaken. It honoured me by placing at my disposal all its resources of printing and publication, and by putting me into touch with every official that was in a position to assist me. Here I cannot refrain from mentioning one name that is affectionately familiar to everyone in this room, that of the late Sir Charles Lyall. In those days he was one of the Secretaries to the Government of India, and it was largely due to his representations that it consented to entertain the project. Then there were my brethren of the Indian Civil Service. I, who have been through the mill myself, know well what a trial such calls as mine upon his time and labour are to a District Officer already overburdened with more urgent responsibilities. Yet from each and all I received nothing but cordial and ready help. Again, there were the many officials, Indian and European, not members of my own service, missionaries, and personal friends, to all of whom I owe a heavy debt of gratitude. When I came home to arrange the materials that had been collected with their help, there was my friend Dr. (now Professor) Konow, who for some years generously contributed from the treasury of his wide learning much information on subjects that I had had few opportunities of studying in India. I hope it will not be forgotten that a large and valuable section of the Survey comes from his experienced pen. Finally, there is one who was associated with the Survey from its beginning to its end, and, to whom, in some respects, I am indebted more than to any other. It was she who never spared herself in the perpetual and monotonous labour of correcting proofs, whose wise criticism saved me from many a solecism, and whose tender care inspired me in phases of occasional discouragement. Need I say that I am referring to Lady Grierson.

So we all did our best, and if the Survey help ever so little to bring the India that I love nearer to the England that sent me to her, if it suggests to the Englishman something of the amazing complexity of at least one phase of Indian life, and if it suggests to the Indian that England does try to understand him, and that it is from mutual understanding alone that true fellowship is born, then I shall feel that our labour has not been in vain.

In the name of Lady Grierson and on my own behalf, I thank you for the kindness you have shown us. So long as we live it will abide in our memories and be enshrined within our hearts.

The following observations on the *Linguistic Survey of India* have been communicated by Professor F. W. Thomas :

In advocating, organizing, and carrying to completion a Linguistic Survey of India, Sir George Grierson has not only accomplished a work of enormous extent and complexity, but also fulfilled a mission. At the University of Dublin, whither he proceeded from St. Bees and Shrewsbury, and where he took a distinguished Degree in mathematics, he came under the influence of a remarkable scholar and teacher, Professor Atkinson, who was a linguist of extraordinary versatility.

It is not too much to say that from the time of Colebrooke and Colin Mackenzie (if we should not even say Sir William Jones) the necessity of some comprehensive description of

Indian languages had been glimpsed. Such pioneers as Leiden, Buchanan-Hamilton, and Hodgson had been widely interested in languages and dialects, and Hodgson had published much valuable material. The Government of Calcutta issued in 1874 *Specimens of the Languages of India*, edited by Sir George Campbell. The comparative study was represented by the work of Caldwell for Dravidian, Beames and later Hoernle for the Indo-Aryan languages, and Forbes for Further Indian.

Sir George Grierson after his arrival in India (1873) was not long in getting to work. He speedily began to interest himself in the languages, folk-lore, and literature of his province. He published various notes and texts such as the *Song of Mānik Chandra* (1878), leading on to his *Introduction to the Maithili Language with a Grammar and Chrestomathy* (1881), and the wonderfully complete account of the country life and vocabulary contained in his *Bihar Peasant Life* (1885). In the same year the *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language*, compiled in conjunction with Dr. Hoernle, began to appear. The *Seven Bihari Grammars* were published officially in 1883–7. From this time Sir George's publications began to take a wider range. In 1889 appeared his biographical account of *Indian Vernacular Literature*, greatly extending the Hindu side of Garcin de Tassy's work and supplying the indispensable preliminary to any comprehensive study of the literary history of Hindi. The re-edition of the *Satsai* of Bihari with commentary and valuable introduction was issued in 1896, and in the same year appeared the first part of the *Padumāvatī*. In the early 'nineties also commenced the series of Sir George's numerous studies concerning the *Kashmiri* language, which may be said to be a favourite part of his work: the *Essays* were published in 1899. We should not forget his interest in the Sanskrit and the old period of Indian history, as shown by his notes and reviews in the *Indian Antiquary* and his translation of M. Senart's work on the *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*.

The Linguistic Survey was definitely authorized in 1898, and Sir George was placed in charge. For this purpose it was necessary to take up a residence in Europe. In this Society he has been an honoured and popular Hon. Secretary and Vice-President and is now an Honorary Vice-President. In the year 1909 he received from the hand of the then Prince of Wales the triennial gold medal, and later (in 1923) he was accorded the Campbell Gold Medal of the Bombay Branch.

The greatest part of his energies during his residence in England has been absorbed by his exacting task, but among other subjects which have occupied him the first place belongs perhaps to the Kashmiri language, of which in 1898 he published with Pandit Iśvara Kaula a grammar in Sanskrit, entitled *Kāçmīraśabdāmṛita*. His *Manual*, published at Oxford in 1911, furnishes an admirable guide to the study of the language, while in *Lallāvākyāni* (1920) and *Hātim's Tales* (1923) he has used materials supplied mainly by Sir Aurel Stein for editions of two very interesting collections of mystical poems and popular lore. He is also editing an extensive religious poem in the language, *Śiva-paricáya*, with Sanskrit rendering.

The groups of north-western languages related to Kashmiri, Kafir languages, Dard languages, spoken chiefly in Western Tibet and Northern Afghanistan, and adjacent districts, constitute a remarkable and previously little known department of Asiatic Indo-European speech, which has moreover left its traces in the Punjab Lahndā and so forth, reaching down to Sindh. Sir George's theory that primarily these dialects are not Indo-Aryan, but represent an intermediate group of the Indo-Iranian branch has been contested. But their remarkable features, their conservation of old vocables and their peculiar phonological development, have been set in a clear light. Sir George's most important discussions of the subject and allied matters outside the Survey volumes, are contained in his monographs on the *Piśāca Languages*

(1906) and on the *Ishkasmī*, *Zēbākī*, and *Yāzghulāmī* (1906), both published by the Society.

We must not pass over the valuable work done by Sir George on the subject of Prakrit Grammar or on that of the Speech Tones, or again his activity in procuring and exhibiting gramophone records of Indian dialects ; or his many essays on the poetical and religious literature of Hindi, or the encouragement which he has given to Indian editors of important texts, such as the works of Tulsī Dās.

In regard to the Linguistic Survey a mere contemplation of the eighteen large folio volumes, giving specimens of all the languages and dialects with admirable bibliographies, with grammatical sketches and select vocabularies, reveals a work of compilation and editorship of almost incredible dimensions. The grammatical sketches furnish scientifically definite and reliable descriptions of the sounds, forms, and syntax of the languages, steering a wise course between the old method of imposing the arrangement and terminology derived from the classical languages and the opposite extreme. In these volumes we have the means of grasping as a whole the present linguistic situation in India with many lights upon the linguistic history. Whole new families of speech have been brought to light, and there have been significant deductions from their distribution.

On more than one occasion Sir George has given an account of his survey, notably in a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts. Outside the Survey volumes he has published lists and descriptions of the languages and he has regularly reported to the Orientalist Congresses. In 1928 he will be able to notify to an Oxford Congress the completion of a task of thirty years.

Apart from the volumes compiled under his superintendence by Professor Konow, whose collaboration has been carefully recorded, and apart from the officials and friends who have co-operated by supplying materials, the work has been carried on single-handed under special difficulties in connexion with the proofs, which has made heavy calls upon the patience both of Sir George himself, and of his devoted helpmate, Lady Grierson.

The work furnishes an admirable basis for the detailed study of Indian Linguistics, and will inspire and guide many future researches. It places the Government of India in a unique and highly honourable position, inasmuch as, while presiding over the most varied and complicated linguistic area in the world, it has procured for its own and the general enlightenment an unrivalled instrument and guide.

Since the above was written the Order of Merit has been bestowed upon Sir George Grierson in the Birthday Honours.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April–June, 1928)

The Council record with regret the death of the Rev. Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, Dr. T. H. Weir, and Mrs. D. B. Spooner.

Staff-Surgeon F. Rackham Mann has resigned.

During the quarter the following have been elected :—

Mr. P. D. Bhanot.
Mrs. J. Hally Brown.
Mr. Eric B. W. Chappelow.
Pandit Jagadish Chandra Chatterji.
Dr. S. K. Chowdury, H.M.B., S.A.S.
Mr. L. Arjan Dass.
Abid Hasan Faridi.
Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.
Mr. A. D. Ince.
Mr. Ganda Singh Kewal.
Mr. Abdur Rahman Khaki, B.A., H.P.
Mr. Mohammad Hafizullah Khan, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. Abdul Hakim Khan.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.
Diwan H. Lal Khanna.
Mr. Shosen Miyamoto.
Mr. Gurmukh Singh Mongia, M.A.
Babu Charu Chandra Nag, M.A., B.L.
Mrs. G. Pavitram, B.A., L.T.
Mr. Pande Janunandan Prasad, M.A., B.Ed.
Mr. G. Rankin.
Professor Syed Riyaz-ul-Hasan.
Mrs. G. Sankunny, M.A., L.T.
Professor George Sarton.
Mr. Raghunath Sahaya Sharma, M.A.
Mr. M. Abdul Majid Sheikh, M.A.
Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu Singh, P.C.S.
Mr. Mir Valiuddin.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

3rd April, 1928

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

Dr. Unvala read a paper on the " Excavations of the French Mission at Susa in the Season 1926–7," illustrated by lantern slides. Sir Wolseley Haig spoke, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 8th May, 1928, Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair. The annual report of the Society was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1927–8

The Society has lost by death two distinguished Honorary Members, Professor V. Thomsen and M. Emile Senart, and the following thirteen ordinary members :—

Kaviraj A. Ch. Bisharad.
Mr. S. K. Bose.
The Hon. Dewan Tek Chand.
Dr. W. E. Geil.
Mr. J. Lal Jaini.
Mr. A. D. Keith.
Raja Madho Lal.
Mr. H. G. A. Leveson.
Mr. D. B. Parasnis.
Mr. Edwin Ransom.
Mr. B. Lewis Rice.
Dr. Y. Sarruf.
Mr. A. J. Shelley-Thompson.

The following 17 Members have resigned :—

Mr. R. Bharadwaj.
Mrs. C. Brownlow.
Mr. S. Cohen.
Sayed Aziz Hassan-Sahib.
Mr. B. R. Jain.
Mr. J. Leveen.
Miss E. A. Levin.
Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea.
Captain A. Platts.
Mr. D. Talbot Rice.
Lord Scone.
Mr. Sefton Jones.
Colonel H. W. R. Senior.
Mr. J. S. Trimingham.
Professor Max Walleser.
The Rev. G. A. Wilder.
Mr. David Yellin.

Under the Rule 25 the following 32 have ceased to be Members of the Society :—

Mr. B. D. Arora.
Mr. G. P. Singh Bhalowalia.
Mr. Sri Ram Bharatiya.
Mr. Brameswar Bhattacharya.
Maulvi Md. Din.
Mr. G. P. Fisher.
Mr. S. S. Gujral.
Mr. S. Gupta.
Mr. M. A. Haidari.
Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan.
Mr. Md. Basheer Hossain.
Mr. V. Kaul.
Mr. Md. Kazim.
Mr. Maheshey R. Lal.

Mr. A. Macdonald.
Mr. M. K. Menon.
Mr. Hans Raj Nanda.
Mr. L. Narayan.
Mr. M. Pratap.
Dr. H. Rahman.
Mr. K. D. Ram.
Mr. S. R. L. Rana.
Mr. R. Ry. V. P. Rao.
Mr. Sh. Abdur Rashid.
Mr. I. H. Saleem.
Mr. K. P. Saxena.
Mr. G. B. Singh.
Mr. A. L. Suherverthy.
Mr. H. R. Tajdar.
Mr. Md. Talha.
Mr. Samad Yar.
Mr. M. Yusuff.

Nine Resident Members have been elected during the year:

Mr. Kastoor Mal Banthiya.
Mr. Harold C. Bowen.
Mrs. J. Hally Brown.
Mr. Eric Chappelow.
Rev. Joseph McCarthy.
Mr. Y. R. Parpia.
Mr. R. Said-Ruete.
Mr. Manzoor Husain Siddiqi.
Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Waheed.

Three Library Members :—

Sir H. J. Maynard, K.C.I.E.
Miss D. Murray.
Mr. C. F. Strickland.

One Non-Resident Compounder :—

Mr. Hans Raj Davar.

And 103 Non-Resident Members :—

Moulvi Hafiz Jalal-uddin Ahmad
Sheikh Md. Iqbal Ahmed.
Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.
Rai Sahib Gulap Ch. Barua.
Mr. Phakirdas Banerji.
Rai Sahib Padmanath Gohain Barooah.
Rai Sahib Gulap Ch. Barua.
Mr. Mahadeva V. Bhide.
Dr. Karanjaksha Banerjee.
M. Jean Burnay.
Mr. O. K. Caroe.
Mr. P. Chandra.
Pandit Jagadish Ch. Chatterji.
Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.
Mr. Abdul Satter Chowdry.
Mr. Iresh Lal S. Chowdhury.
Mr. R. D. Daga.
Mr. L. Arjan Dass.
Mr. R. Ch. Dhar.
Mr. B. Bhusan Dutt.
Capt. A. G. C. Fane.
Mr. H. L. O. Garrett.
Mr. Narendra Ch. Ghose.
Dr. S. K. Ghosh.
Mr. F. H. Giles.
Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.
Mr. Ram Sharan Lal Govil.
Mr. Akhwand Ghulam Hassan.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosain.
Syed Badrul Hossain.
Mr. Choudhri Zafar Husein.
Mr. Chowdhri Hyder Husein.
Mr. Choudhri Aghar Hussein.
Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.
Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur Ilahi.
Mr. Arthur D. Ince.
Mr. Md. Ishaque.
Mr. T. K. Duraiswamy Iyengar.
Mr. S. N. A. Jafri.
Mr. Jannina Prosad Jain.
Mr. K. Clement Jones.
Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar.
Sayid Misbahuddin Tamkin Kazini.
Mr. A. Ahmed Khan.
Mir Ahmad Ali Khan.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.
Mr. M. Basheer Ahmad Khan.
Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan.
Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain Khan.
Mr. Girijaprasanna Lahiri.
Mr. Nathu Lal.
Mr. R. V. Malliah.
Professor N. Martinovitch.
Mr. K. B. L. Mathur.
Mr. Md. Abdulla Minhas.
Rai Bahadur Sarda Jwala Sahai Misra.
Mr. R. J. Moses.
Mr. A. R. Arunachala Nadar.
Mr. Jagat Narain.
Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain.
Mian Sultan Ahmed Vajudi Nizami.
Mr. Basheer Ahmad Nomani.
Sastri Sohan Lal Partak.
Mr. B. P. Pande.
Dr. J. G. Peters.
Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai.
Mr. Pande Jadunandam Prasad.
Mr. Baini Prashad.
Syed G. Mohiuddin Qadri.
Mr. M. D. Raghavan.
Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.
The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I.
Pandit Sarup Narain Rozdon.
Mr. Abdul Munim Saidi.
Mr. Sayyad Sajjad.
Mr. Kanakhya Lal Saqib.
Pandit Swaroop Ch. Saroj.
Dr. Jyotis Govinda Sen.
Prof. Fradun-e-Zaman Md. Shuja.
Mr. Md. Hasan Siddiqi.
Dr. Balwant Singh.
Mr. Bhagat Singh.
Sardar Darshan Singh.
Mr. G. Hamilton Singh.
Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu Singh.
Mr. Kunwar Maharaj Singh.
Raja Raghunandam Prasad Singh.
Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E.
Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar.
Mr. Nirujun Sircar.
Rai Sahib Tara Chand Sood.
Mr. H. L. Srivastava.
Mr. V. S. Subramanian.

Mr. Manohar Lal Talib.
Mr. H. M. S. Thompson.
Sir Lionel L. Tomkins.
Mr. John Walker.
Mr. Mir Valiuddin.
Mr. Stuart Wolfenden.
Mr. R. Ramsay Wright.
Mr. Suleman Ishaq Yakub.
Mr. Wasi Md. Yas.

Lectures

The following lectures have been delivered :—

" Excavations at Ur, 1926–7," by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley.

" Journey and Results of the Fourth Turfan Expedition," by Dr. A. von Le Coq.

" The Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* ; its Original Form and Pronunciation," by Mr. G. R. Driver.

" Somnath and its Conquest, by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna," by Mr. Muhammad Nazim.

" Court Life in the T'ang Dynasty as illustrated by the Life of Tu Fu," by Mrs. Ayscough.

" From the End of China's Great Wall to Moscow," by Miss Mildred Cable.

" Results of the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition at Kish and Jemdel-Nasr during the two seasons 1925–7 and early 1928," by Professor S. Langdon.

" Excavations of the French Mission at Susa, in the season 1926–7," by Dr. J. M. Unvala.

The *Journal*, already enlarged in 1926, has again been increased, and is now practically its pre-war size, but it must be remembered that the expense of printing is very nearly double what it was in 1914.

The Oriental Translation Fund has published the *Asatir*, Dr. Gaster's long promised work, and has re-issued, by the photographic process, the *Lawā'iḥ of Jāmī*, for the second time out of print. The Fund has in progress the translation of the

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	250	10	0			
Non-Resident Members	995	10	1			
3 Non-Resident Compounders	36	0	0			
				1,282	0	1
RENTS RECEIVED				611	5	0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
,, Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
,, Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
,, Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				17	17	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	511	2	8			
Additional Copies sold	140	7	7			
Pamphlets sold	5	19	7			
				657	9	10
DIVIDENDS				70	4	11
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				7	4	0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				1	16	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				21	17	5
SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS				35	18	6
SALE OF CABINET OF COINS				50	0	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS					17	6
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				14	16	6
,, POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT					7	2
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1926—						
Deposit Account.	550	0	0			
Savings Bank	86	16	6			
	636	16	6			
Less: Current Account overdrawn	22	0	6			
				614	16	0
				£3,786	10	7

INVESTMENTS.

£250 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).
£635 2*s.* 7*d.* Funding 4 per cent Stock 1960-90.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1927

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—						
Rent and Land Tax	503	17	5			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	42	7	4			
Gas and Light, do.	60	8	0			
Coal and Coke, do.	50	3	8			
Telephone	12	4	11			
Cleaning	4	4	0			
Insurance	28	12	6			
Repairs	27	5	0			
Sundries	47	15	9½			
				776	18	7½
Leasehold Redemption Fund				20	10	6
Salaries and Wages				742	2	0
Printing and Stationery				72	16	10
Journal Account—						
Printing	1,008	15	3			
Postage	65	1	5			
				1,073	16	8
Library Expenditure				250	0	10
General Postage				55	12	7
Audit Fees				9	9	0
Sundry Expenses—						
Teas	15	5	8			
Parcels and Fares	4	19	3			
Lectures	13	13	0			
Lantern Operator	5	0	0			
Addressograph	20	13	4			
Sundries	16	6	6			
Interest on overdraft		12	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	14	4	7½			
				90	14	4½
Investment in £285 2*s*. 7*d*. 4 per cent Funding Stock				250	0	0
Balances in Hand, 31st December, 1927—						
Current Account	244	9	2			
Deposit Account	200	0	0			
				444	9	2
				£3,786	10	7

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

22nd March, 1928.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

	RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1927. Jan. 1.	BALANCE				488	16	8
	SALES				125	6	5
	DONATION				10	0	0
	INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				9	5	6
					£633	8	7

	PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. XIII	53	0	2			
	Do. do. VOL. XIX	9	12	10			
	Do. do. VOL. XXVI	199	3	0			
					261	16	0
	SUNDRIES					13	10
	10% COMMISSION TO GENERAL ACCOUNT ON 1926 SALES .				12	14	3
1927. Dec. 31.	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				358	4	6
					£633	8	7

ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

	RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	BALANCE	48	13	5
	SALES	25	2	9
	DONATIONS	80	0	0
		£153	16	2

	PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.
	10% COMMISSION TO GENERAL ACCOUNT ON 1926 SALES . . .	3	2	1
	PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. VII . .	24	4	8
1927. Dec. 31.	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . .	126	9	5
		£153	16	2

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	358	4	6
ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND	126	9	5
	£484	13	11

	£	s.	d.
CASH AT BANK—			
On Current Account . .	134	13	11
,, Deposit Account . .	350	0	0
	£484	13	11

Leasehold Redemptio

Jan. 1.	Balance		118 2 4	Dec. 31.	Balance— Represented by £136 2s. 10d. 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47 . . .	138 12 10	
	Transfer from General Account . . .		20 10 6		Cash at Bank . . .	6 16 0	145 8 10
	Dividends Received to be Invested . . .		6 16 0				
			£145 8 10				£145 8 10

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance		136 7 7		Printing and Binding Vol. IX . . .	12 13 6	
	Sales	45 8 8			Binding Vol. VII . .	6 5 0	
	Dividends	18 0 0	63 8 8		Storage	3 0 6	
					10 per cent on 1926 Sales to General Account . .	2 14 0	24 13 3
				Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		175 3 3
			£199 16 3				£199 16 3

Gold Medal Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance	51 16 5	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	61 11 5
	Dividends	9 15 0			
		£61 11 5			£61 11 5

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		44 11 6		Prize Book, 1926 . . .	1 10 0	
	Dividends		20 15 4		Binding do. . . .	1 8 0	
							2 18 0
				Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		62 8 10
			£65 6 10				£65 6 10

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Prize Publication Fund . . .	175 3 3		Cash at Bank— On Current Account . .	299 3 6
Gold Medal Fund	61 11 5			
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund .	62 8 10	299 3 6		
		£299 3 6		£299 3 6

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).

£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).

£40 Conversion 3½ per cent Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C. A. W. OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

22*nd March*, 1928.

BURTON MEMOR FUND

RECEIPTS

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1927.							
Jan. 1	BALANCE				3	1	2
	DIVIDENDS				1	9	4
					£4	10	6

PAYMENTS

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
192							
Dec. 31.	BY CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT				4	10	6
					£4	10	6

INVESTMENT.
£49 0*s*. 10*d*. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

		£	s.	d.
1927.				
Jan. 1.	BALANCE	82	17	9
	DIVIDENDS	209	19	4
	INCOME TAX RECOVERED	30	7	2
	SALE OF BOOKS	19	14	11
		£342	19	2

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1927							
	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—						
	Publications . . .	225	0	0			
	Lecture	31	10	0			
	Bursary	16	16	0			
	Printing Account . . .	11	6	2			
					284	12	2
	STORAGE OF VOL. 3 . . .				1	19	2
	10% ON SALES 1926 TO GENERAL ACCOUNT				3	7	1
Dec. 31.	CASH AT BANK— On Current Account . .				53	0	9
					£342	19	2

INVESTMENTS.

£1,005 14*s*. 7*d*. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s*. 3*d*. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s*. 3*d*. India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
£253 18*s*. 4*d*. War Loan 5 per cent, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned {L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

22nd March, 1928.

Al-Babu 'l Ḥâdî 'Ashar, translated by the Rev. W. M. Miller. It is passing rapidly through the press, and will be ready, it is hoped, this summer.

The Prize Publication Fund has nearly ready Mr. Malalasekera's *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, and the Asiatic Monograph Fund also will soon publish *A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, by Dr. Pran Nath.

The Forlong Fund added a fourth volune to the series in 1927, *Ta'ríkh-i Fakhru'd-dín Mubárakshấh*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, and another volume is in course of preparation, a new edition of Trenckner's *Milindapanho* with Indices by Mr. Rylands and Mrs. Rhys Davids. The work is being published in conjunction with the Pali Text Society.

The Council regrets that no competitors entered in 1927 for the Public Schools Gold Medal; the subject was "Bombay, Town and Island," one which might have been thought to contain sufficient interest to attract competitors. This year the subject chosen is "Lord Cornwallis in India," and the Council hopes that a wide interest will be aroused.

Through the generosity of the heirs of the late Mrs. Rachel Beer the Society has become possessed of the portrait by Edwin Long of the late M. Ernest Renan, a distinguished Hon. Member. The portrait was lent to the Society in 1893 by Mrs. Beer, and the Council are glad to announce that it is now the property of the Society. The grateful thanks of the Society are due to the donors. To other donors also thanks are due, to Mr. George Eumorfopoulos for further volumes of the *Catalogue* of his collection; to Professor Takakusu for thirteen volumes of the *Chinese Tripitaka*; to Mr. Said Ruete for a photograph of the portrait of his grandfather, Sayyed Said bin Sultan Imam of Muscat and Sultan of Zanzibar, elected an Hon. Member of the Society in 1836. The original was painted by a Lieut. Lynch about the year 1830.

Two distinguished foreign savants were selected as Hon. Members, Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, and Professor

Antoine Meillet, of Paris, in place of Professor V. Thomsen and M. Émile Senart.

The Council have selected Professor Margoliouth as the recipient of the Triennial Gold Medal in recognition of his long and eminent services to the cause of Oriental learning.

The Burton Memorial Lecture is to be given in the autumn by Mr. McMichael, C.M.G., to whom has been awarded the Triennial Medal for exploration and travel in the East.

The Carnegie Trust was approached during the year for a grant in aid of the Library, which requires very large expenditure to bring it up to date.

The Trust has generously responded, and has made a grant of £2,000 to be expended over three years. The work of revising and enlarging the existing catalogue has already been undertaken, and as each room is done the cards are provisionally arranged so that the Catalogue for the rooms as finished is immediately available.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1927–8 are as follows :—

Under Rule 29 the President, Sir Edward Maclagan, retires from the office of President, and the Council recommend the Earl of Ronaldshay be elected to succeed him.

Under Rule 30 Dr. Cowley retires from the office of Vice-President ; the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Maclagan.

Under Rule 81 the Hon. Officers, Sir Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 32 only one member, Sir William Foster, retires this year, non-eligible for re-election. Next year, however, the compulsory retirements would have been seven, so three members, Mr. Fulton, Professor Macdonell and Mr. Winckworth, have voluntarily retired this year instead of next in order to equalize the retirements in the future. The retiring members therefore are

Sir William Foster, Mr. Fulton, Professor Macdonell, and Mr. Winckworth. To these must be added Professor Thomas, who in resigning the office of Hon. Secretary in October was co-opted on to the Council, and retiring under Rule 28 is eligible for re-election.

The Council recommend in their place the election of

(1) Dr. Cowley.
(2) Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.
(3) Lieut.-Col. Sir Wolseley Haig.
(4) Professor F. W. Thomas.
(5) Sir Oliver Wardrop.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend (1) Mr. L. C. Hopkins and (2) Sir Richard Burn as Hon. Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Barnett, moving the adoption of the report, said: It is with genuine satisfaction that I beg to move the acceptance of the annual report; for the document now before us reveals a year's prosperous and effective work, though it does not reveal how much of this happy result is owing to the able manner in which Sir Edward Maclagan has presided over the Society, and how deep is the gratitude which we feel towards him.

The first words of the report strike a note of sorrow, for they refer to the death of two eminent scholars, M. Senart, whose brilliant researches in ancient Indian history and antiquities are truly classic, and Professor Thomsen, whose philological work has been epoch-making. They were honorary members of this Society; and to fill the vacancies arising by their death the Council has elected two foreign Orientalists of the highest distinction, Professor Meillet of Paris, who succeeds to the place of M. Senart, and Professor Müller of Berlin, who comes in lieu of Professor Thomsen.

The financial statement shows that on the year's working, after investment, we have a real balance of £60. The Special Funds are hard at work publishing and republishing works of importance for Oriental studies, and our *Journal* has practically recovered its pre-war bulk. It is peculiarly inspiring to be able to report that the Carnegie Trust has responded to the Council's request by granting us the sum of £2,000 for the service of the Library, to be expended in cataloguing, purchase and binding of books, etc. This endowment will be of immense help to us, for the Library is the heart of our Society.

It is fitting on this occasion that I should mention two other incidents in our history, one of which appears on this report, while the other does not. The first is the presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal to Professor Margoliouth, to whom we all offer our hearty congratulations on this testimonial of our appreciation of his brilliant and untiring scholarship, congratulations which are the warmer because he has at all times served the Society with the most unselfish and zealous loyalty. We all heartily wish that he may for many years continue his services to the cause of learning and the R.A.S. The other incident is the pleasant ceremony which has been held this day, the lunch of honour held to celebrate Sir George Grierson's completion of his colossal work, the *Linguistic Survey of India*, one of the greatest achievements of philological science and literary organization. More than a generation has been needed to complete that great structure; and now the task has been accomplished, and with profound joy and gratitude we celebrate its fulfilment with the master-builder among us, still strong and wise. Long may he also be with us; *laetus intersit*, happy for many reasons, and most of all in the consciousness of having brought his life's work to completion.

Mr. Oldham: I have pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. Professor Barnett has already referred to our loss on the President's retirement, and I shall not spoil it by adding anything to what he has said. The past year cannot be described as an *annus mirabilis*, unless we may venture to claim some reflected glory from that truly monumental work to which we have heard such eloquent tributes to-day. I refer to the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which has been completed by our Hon. Vice-President, Sir George Grierson, who for nearly half a century has been one of the mainstays of this Society. I think the Society is well entitled to associate itself with the world-wide congratulations which have been showered upon him.

There is one department perhaps to which special reference should be made, as the Report scarcely does justice to the amount of work which has been effected. I refer to the Library—a very important department of the Society's functions which Professor Barnett has just described as the heart of the Society. The important work that is being done deserves some recognition at our hands. It consists in the revising and bringing up to date of the catalogue, the rebinding of books and their rearrangement and re-housing in more suitable situations where they can be more readily got at. The cards are being revised and brought up to date, with a view to the publication at a no distant date of a complete catalogue, which will be an immense service to all readers. The opportunity is not being lost to deal with the subject catalogue also, but the completion of that, and its publication will necessarily have to be deferred. Work in connexion with the Library has long been wanted, and I think we should congratulate the Council on the success of their appeal to the Carnegie Trust, the grant from which has enabled the work to be carried on rapidly.

I would like to add, however, that whatever has been done in connexion with the Library is chiefly due to the personal interest which our retiring President has taken in this branch of the Society's work.

Those who have had administrative experience know the important effect that a word of kindly encouragement from the higher authority—an expression of interest and of sympathy with difficulties met—has upon the conduct of work. Sir E. Maclagan understood this; and the marked improvements which have been, and are being, carried out in our Library we owe in large measure to his initiative, supplemented by the vigilance of our Secretary, the wide learning of our Honorary Librarian, and the business capacity and unremitting attention to detail of our Assistant Librarian.

Hon. Treasurer: My remarks will be brief. You will be glad to hear that we have a small margin on the right side. The total receipts come to £3,155, which is about our normal income, and the payments to £3,092 10*s.*, that is, 60 guineas on the right side. Subscriptions show an increase, due partly to the fact that our effective membership is now 865; and we hope we may soon reach over 1,000.

There is an item of commission on sales, £21 17*s.* 5*d.*, which will appear in the accounts for the last time, because it is considered that the Society's General Funds should not charge commission on sales of books for the Special Funds, and that we should give our services liberally and gratuitously in order that the Special Funds may have their full reward of the works published. The payments show an increase on the House Account. The *Journal* account has also increased. We have now gone up to over £1,000 for printing; this is really a third of the whole normal income of the Society, but we have a much larger *Journal*, and we want to keep it at 950 pages, or perhaps a little more.

The Library expenditure comes to £250, a very special amount, our normal one being £120. We are glad to say the Carnegie Fund has come to our rescue with a grant of £2,000, spread over three years, and with this we hope to bring the Library well up to date.

I would like specially to thank the Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, who has been so helpful during the year in giving me various details of accounts and other information from time to time required by me.

The President, in referring with satisfaction to the increase of membership, said that he would have liked to see a larger proportion of resident members among the new accessions to the Society. He referred to two suggestions which had been made at the last anniversary meeting. One of them—the repainting of the exterior of the Society's building—the Council had not hitherto been able to deal with owing to financial exigencies, but the painting was now about to be carried out in the near future. The other suggestion—made by Sir Percy Sykes—to the effect that the Library was in need of improvement, had already been taken in hand before the last meeting, and had since been met by the grant from the Carnegie Fund, to which reference had already been made. It was hoped that by the aid of this grant the Library would now be put in a thoroughly efficient position.

The President proceeded to express his thanks to the Council, the Director, the Honorary Officers and the Staff of the Society for the support and assistance he had received from them during his three years of office; and concluded by expressing his satisfaction that the Society had secured Lord Ronaldshay as his successor. He was a distinguished administrator, traveller, and writer, and was much interested in the objects of the Society, and there was little doubt that under his Presidency the Society would continue its prosperous career.

The adoption of the Report with the recommendation for the Council and Auditors was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION

The President, before presenting the Society's triennial gold medal to Professor Margoliouth, explained that the medal was awarded by the Council of the Society in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research. Few persons had rendered more distinguished services of this kind than Professor Margoliouth, and it gave the President much satisfaction to be able to present him with the medal before handing over charge of his office.

Professor Margoliouth had been a brilliant Classical scholar from his school days, and at Oxford had carried all before him, securing ten University Prizes—a feat which had not been rivalled before or since. While a classical tutor, he published work of much value, including his brilliant edition of the *Agamemnon*, and he maintained his mastery of classical learning throughout his career. When he became occupied with Arabic, he published editions of Arabic translations of Aristotle.

He was scarcely 30 years of age when he was made Laudian Professor of Arabic and from that day to this he had directed his chief energies to Arabic study. His larger works—the edition of Yákút's *Dictionary of Learned Men* and his history of the *Eclipse of the Abbassid Caliphate*—are held to be masterly publications, contributing a notable addition to Islamic studies in Europe and an example of the highest level of Oriental scholarship. In less technical fields he had explained the East to the West in such well-known publications as his *Life of Muhammad* and his Hibbert and Schweich lectures.

Apart from this he possessed very early knowledge of Hebrew, and had in his early Oxford days acquired a comprehensive acquaintance with Sanskrit. It was impossible to indicate with any adequacy all the languages in which he was versed, but he may be said to have attained high proficiency in languages so diverse as Persian, Armenian, Coptic, and Turkish. In Syriac he enjoyed the special privilege of having an accomplished collaborator, Mrs. Margoliouth having joined with him in the production of her father's *Syriac Thesaurus*. Mrs. Margoliouth was herself a distinguished Orientalist and Professor Margoliouth would doubtless recognize that she had a claim to a large share in the medal which had been awarded to him.

In his knowledge of the languages of the Near East, Professor Margoliouth had not confined his interests to the classical works, but was well versed in the current literature of the day, more especially in Arabic. He had also a good conversational knowledge of many of these languages, and more particularly of Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Turkish. He had been able to do what few European scholars could succeed in doing, namely to lecture in Arabic. He had also devoted himself to the more human side of Oriental lecturing, attending many conferences and congresses where he had made for himself a number of devoted friends. His work for the Royal Asiatic Society had been indefatigable, and his attendance at the Council meetings was almost unfailing, in spite of the distance at which he lived from London.

The encyclopædic nature of his learning was its most prominent characteristic, and his interests even included a wide acquaintance with detective fiction. Whether it would be possible or not for him—after the manner of his treatment of the plays of Euripides—to extract from the inscription on the medal an indication of the year of the Hijra in which it was awarded, it was the wish of the Society for him and Mrs. Margoliouth, that for many years to come the new moon of Muharram would shed the beams of happiness on the garden of their erudition.

Professor Margoliouth, in replying, thanked the President for what he had said and those who were present for their sympathy. Anyone, he felt, would be proud to be enrolled in a list of medallists which included such names as that of Professor Sayce, to whom the Medal had last been awarded, and Sir George Grierson, whom they had been proud to see amongst them that afternoon and to congratulate on the completion of his monumental work. Twenty-five years had elapsed since the Medal had been given to a representative of Islamic studies. Its recipient had then been Sir William Muir, whose *Life of Mohammed* and *History of the Caliphate* were still standard works, yet who might best be remembered by his collection of Despatches issued by him or through him as Intelligence Officer at Agra during the Indian Mutiny, a capacity wherein he displayed courage, resourcefulness, sobriety of judgment, and other rare qualities. The Medal had in different years of necessity been assigned to different departments in the numerous and vast fields with which the Society dealt; had it been restricted to Islamic studies, a suitable medallist might have been found each time. Names which would occur in this connexion were those of Sir Charles Lyall, the scholarly editor and felicitous translator of numerous collections of early Arabic poetry, and Professor E. G. Browne, the historian of Persian literature, the worthy successor of the great Cambridge Orientalists, W. Wright, E. H. Palmer, and W. Robertson Smith, whose various talents he combined, and among whose many services to Oriental study his organization and administration of the Gibb Memorial Trust merited special recognition. Had the Society existed in the seventeenth century, and possessed a Medal, Professor Margoliouth's first predecessor in the Laudian chair at Oxford, Edward Pocock, would have been a suitable recipient; among his successors Joseph White, who occupied it at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, would also have earned the Medal, since his Syriac, Persian, and Arabic editions were still required by students.

15*th May*, 1928

At the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, Sir Edward Maclagan, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Leonard Woolley gave a lecture on the Excavations at Ur in 1927–8. An abstract of the lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides, will be found on page 659 of this *Journal*.

12*th June*, 1928

At the Royal Society's Rooms, the Earl of Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

Sir E. Denison Ross read a paper on "The Contribution of Hungary to Central Asian Studies with special reference to Csoma de Körös".

The Hungarian Minister, Mr. Shuttleworth, and Sir Charles joined in the discussion.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Émile Charles Marie Senart

The greatest part of M. Senart's productivity as a scholar was concerned with Buddhism. In 1871, at the age of 24, he made his début, in the *Journal Asiatique* (VI, xvii, pp. 193–540), by a publication of Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar, *sūtras* and commentary, a work of great difficulty; the translation and notes betrayed no signs of immaturity and manifested a familiarity with the Sanskrit grammarians, whose model Kaccāyana had followed. Next, published likewise as a series of articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873–5, and issued as a volume in 1875, came the celebrated *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, a book which has always been provocative to the more literal Buddhologists. No one can doubt that the story of Buddha, largely miraculous, is also in part mythological. The speciality of M. Senart's theory was that the person of Buddha had absorbed not merely isolated mythological factors, but a fairly compact body of conceptions, originally solar. The case would be parallel to a well-known illustration accompanying one of Thackeray's essays and showing three designs: (1) Rex (an imposing royal costume, standing by itself), (2) Ludovicus (a mere man), and (3) Ludovicus Rex, the combined awe-inspiring figure. It seems rather clear that the idea of the *cakravartin* was pre-Buddhistic and ultimately solar: the events preceding the abandonment of home are at least highly poetical, the accounts of the birth and childhood in fact mythical: the detailed incidents of the illumination and the defeat of Māra are surely mythology, and, even if the Bodhi-tree was an actuality, it was a conventional adjunct of ascetics, and, as such, symbolical too—though the symbolism need not have been solar. M. Senart may not have gone too far in suggesting a doubt whether Māyā is a fictitious name for Buddha's mother or even that of Śuddhodana for his father; but clearly it was imprudent to doubt the existence of Kapilavastu. How much can be retained of the theory of the Viṣṇuite or Kṛṣṇaite character of the legend it would not be easy to say. But, in fact, the legendary part of the Buddha story would hardly now be seriously considered by scholars, who are more concerned to discover what views were propounded by the person who figures in the Pali dialogues and why both he and Mahāvīra founded not schools, but sects.

In 1877, M. Senart published a short article, entitled *Sur quelques termes buddhiques*, wherein he took note of certain forms of words occurring in the Buddhist texts, such as *upādisesa*, which seemed to point to an earlier canonic dialect more developed (*plus altéré, plus prakritisant*) than appears in their surroundings. His preoccupation with the dialects was also evidenced by a long and suggestive review of Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 1877. The articles containing his own edition of the *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* began to appear in 1880.[1] The completed work (1881) was translated by Sir George Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary* (xviii, 1889—xxi, 1892). M. Senart was able in some instances to make use of new facsimiles furnished by Dr. Burgess. But the great advance in the interpretation was due mainly to his own insight and his familiarity with the Pali language and literature. The concluding chapters are devoted to a study of the date and chronology of the inscriptions and the general questions of Buddhist chronology so far as connected therewith; the author of the inscriptions, his faith and his measures; the language and the several dialects, whereof full grammatical sketches are given; the linguistic chronology of India and the interrelations between Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Pali. Almost all the conclusions at which M. Senart arrived (including his acceptance of the date A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era) still hold good. But there is one great matter which seems in his argument to retain some of its previous obscurity. He holds that the alphabets show by their inadequacy that they could not have been used for writing Sanskrit (or, we may add, Pali). The first Sanskrit to be written was the Mixed Sanskrit of certain inscriptions, which had been known as the Gāthā dialect and for which M. Senart had himself previously proposed the name Buddhist Sanskrit. This ceased to exist at the moment when the philological exactitude of the old Brahman schools extended its influence. The Prakrits and the Pali also assumed a definite form when controlled by a similar influence. The process may have begun about A.D. 100 and have been completed before the Gupta period. The matter is certainly puzzling, and it is clear that the Aśokan alphabets must have been developed in certain points before they could be fitted for the writing of Sanskrit. But the inference that at the time there was no written Sanskrit, and in fact no worldly Sanskrit at all, seems inadequately grounded. The influence of the learned language upon the popular speech did not commence with Pāṇini: it must have begun from the moment when the vernacular began to diverge from the language of the texts (*Brāhmaṇas*, *Upaniṣads*, and so forth). What Pāṇini discriminated was the correct language of the *śiṣṭas*, the scholars. We know from the early references in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* and elsewhere that there were whole classes of writings of a worldly character, and these must have been composed in fairly popular speech. Thus in principle the Mixed Sanskrit must go back many centuries B.C., and we cannot doubt that stages of it existed in the time of Buddha and in that of Aśoka. The character of the Buddhist Sanskrit was, of course, fully recognized by M. Senart, and his divergence from the view of Burnouf that it was a language of persons who, with inadequate competence, were trying to write the literary language is a little hard to seize. The Mixed Sanskrit is Sanskrit with faults, a variety of that "bad Sanskrit" which we find in Vedic *Pariśiṣṭas*, manuals of crafts, arts, etc. Its only excuse for existence was its actual currency, and it was no doubt the spread of grammatical training that ultimately expelled it from all higher literature. To this extent we cannot but subscribe to M. Senart's view. But, then, for the Mixed Sanskrit the Aśokan alphabets are no less inadequate than for the scholarly form ; so that we should have to deny that the Mixed Sanskrit itself was written prior to the use of double consonants, differentiation of the sibilants, the nasals and so forth. We must, it seems, stop short of this and hold (1) that writing was first employed in connection with popular speech, for business purposes, and so forth, (2) that the Sanskrit, like the Mixed Sanskrit, may at first have made shift with the imperfect alphabets as used in the Aśoka inscriptions (possibly writing double consonants with *virāmas* and so forth), (3) that the inscriptions themselves, being written in merely popular and official dialects, may have been content with alphabetic practice less developed than that which at the time was in actual use for literary purposes—this last proposition is in fact maintained by Bühler. M. Senart's discrimination of the different dialects represented in the Edicts, his recognition of the Māgadhī as official over an area wider than its currency and of its particular intrusions in the texts of the other dialects have been generally confirmed ; and his detailed accounts of the features of the several dialects have been merely amplified in later works.

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, VII, xv, pp. 287–347—VIII, viii, pp. 384–478.

M. Senart's study of the early inscriptions in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets continued throughout his life as a scholar. New materials and new discoveries were regularly referred to him, and they gave occasion to a long series of articles, for the most part published under the running title *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*,[1] always characterized by the most scrupulous examination of the copies and the most penetrating explanation of the texts. His editions of the

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, ix (1888), pp. 498–504 ; xi (1888), pp. 504–33 ; xii (1888), pp. 311–30 ; xiii (1889), pp. 364–75 ; xv (1890), pp. 113–63 ; xix (1892), pp. 472–98 ; IX, iv (1894), pp. 332–53, 504–78 ; vii (1906), pp. 132–6 ; xiii (1899), pp. 526–37 ; xv, (1900), pp. 343–60 ; X, vii, pp. 132–6 ; XI, iv (1914), pp. 569–85 ; vii (1916), pp. 425–42 ; *JRAS*. 1900, pp. 335–41.

Karle and Nasik inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii, pp. 47–74; viii, pp. 59–96) brought those texts up to the level of modern scholarship. When the time came for a republication of volume i of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, his preoccupations did not allow him to undertake the task, which was discharged in a thorough manner by that very sound, careful and fair-minded scholar, Professor Ernst Hultzsch. The last articles by M. Senart on these subjects were his discussion (1916) of the new Aśoka edict found at Maski in Hyderabad and—in collaboratoin with the Abbé Boyer and Professor Rapson—an examination (1918) of a poem inscribed on a Kharoṣṭhī tablet from Chinese Turkestan.

We have still, however, to take account of an analogous task of great difficulty, wherein M. Senart collaborated with the same two scholars. The materials consisted of documents, chiefly wooden tablets, discovered by Sir A. Stein in the course of his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan. The general features of the script and language, as well as some tentative transliterations and translations, were the subject of a communication by Professor Rapson to the Algiers Congress of 1905. But the developed form of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, including unprecedented combinations of signs, and the mixed character of the vocabulary, which comprises a large number of local proper names and titular designations, entailed a long period of joint manipulation: two fasciculi, containing the bulk of the material, were published, under the title *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, in 1920 and 1927.

The *Mahāvastu* is a Sanskrit Buddhist text, which with its apparatus criticus fills in M. Senart's edition more than 1300 pages octavo. It is a work of great importance, belonging to the Vinaya of one of the old Buddhist sects, that of the Māhāsāṅghikas. It is a mine of old Buddhist story, observation, reflection, and wit in unlaboured prose and flowing verse: a book which in another literature might be made a life's study. Unfortunately, it is but a drop in the ocean of Buddhist literature, which we must somehow encompass as a whole, if we are not to be engulfed in it. Still more unfortunately, perhaps, it is written in the Mixed Sanskrit, a text presenting at every step irregularities, and even regularities, which may have been imported into it at any stage in its long history. The MSS., of modern date and all from Nepal, have by their discrepancy involved the editor in an enormous labour of collation. If we had copies of older date or of different provenance (say from Central Asia), we should be confronted (as many analogies show) with divergences far more numerous and in many cases on a much larger scale. A definitive text is hardly to be hoped for. The difficulty, however, is in the main a matter only of grammar or language. M. Senart has given us an important canonical text of one of the most influential early sects. Its further study cannot fail to yield continual fruit, and M. Senart's closely printed commentary of about 400 pages is itself a mine of new and valuable observations upon textual and linguistic matters and upon Buddhist thought and terminology.

Still a different dialect appears in the MS. Dutreuil du Rhins, the Kharoṣṭhī *Dhammapada*, concerning which M. Senart read a paper before the Paris Congress of 1897, and which he edited in the *Journal Asiatique*.[1] Among the papers of the ill-fated traveller some birch-bark fragments were noted by M. Sylvain Lévi as inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī characters. The fragments were for the most part small, in many cases minute; but M. Senart had no difficulty in recognizing a version of the celebrated collection of moral and religious verses known in Pali under the title *Dhammapada*. The formidable task of decipherment was thus lightened, and M. Senart was able to find Pali equivalents for most of the verses and fragments. It was unfortunate that another part of the same MS. (the Petrovsky fragments), which had found its way to St. Petersburg, was not fully available for incorporation. The MS. did not originate in Chinese

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[1] IX, xii (1898), pp. 192–308.

Turkestan: it had been brought from north-western India, and it furnished a new early Prakrit dialect, which has yet to be fully explored.

There remains for commemoration only one extensive work by M. Senart. This is his monograph on caste (*Les Castes dans l'Inde*, 1895, reprinted without change in 1927), a subject in regard to which the examination of prior views is almost more onerous than the direct study of the facts. M. Senart's three chapters are devoted respectively to the present, the past, and the origins, including a criticism of the traditional Brahmanic theory and the conclusions of Nesfield, Ibbetson, and Risley. The main originalities of his own view are (1) the distinction between the original classes, *varṇa*, of Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, at first two "colours", *varṇa*, namely Āryan and Śūdra, and the specific endo-exo-gamic groups properly denoted by the word *jāti* "caste", (2) the tracing of the latter organizations to an Āryan source in a *gentile* constitution of society such as existed in early Greece and Rome. It must be admitted that for *gentes* in the required sense we do not find much evidence in early India (that is by no means conclusive) and that among the castes mentioned by Manu and other ancient writers (we need not take into account the castes of modern times, after a development of about 2,500 years) we find designations professional, genealogical, tribal, and local, but hardly any of a gentilician import. Also we ought to be able to point to Brahman and Kṣatriya gentes: can this be done? Yet M. Senart's view does account for two main features of caste, namely the endogamic principles and the rules as to common meals. It remains possible that a gentilician constitution of society did leave these features as a legacy to new divisions of very various origins, developing in the complex Indian people.

Besides the works which we have cited we owe to M. Senart a number of studies of less extent. Such are his striking little work on Buddhism and Yoga, his papers on the *Abhisambuddha-gāthās* of the Pali Jātaka, on the Vajrapāṇi in early

Buddhist art, on *Rajas* and the theory of the three *Guṇas* in the Sāṃkhya philosophy. In 1922 he published an elegant translation of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. All his writings are distinguished by a refined linguistic sense and a clear unbiassed judgment. There is also nothing second-hand or compilatory in his work: on the contrary, his tendency was always towards new and vital conceptions. Considering the combined brilliance and solidity of his work, it cannot be said that in the qualities of a scholar he was surpassed by any Indianist of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

It is well known that M. Senart possessed advantages of fortune which might have proved an obstacle to a strictly scholarly career. Fortunately science and letters can point to not a few instances of men of means who were not merely thinkers or amateurs, but specialist investigators whose work would not have been modified by being professional. M. Senart was always counted among the Indianist circle of the University of Paris, and not only of the Société Asiatique, in which he was successively member of Council (1872), Vice-President (1890), and President (1908). After the death of M. Barth, to whom in 1914 [1] he paid a touching tribute, he was, so to speak, the father of the Paris Indianists. In the Académie des Inscriptions he was the outstanding representative of oriental studies. In such matters as the foundation of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, the Pelliot mission to Central Asia, the Commission Archéologique of the Academy his was usually the directing influence. When the time came for celebrating the centenary of the Société Asiatique the full burden of organization and leadership in the splendid succession of ceremonies and festivities recorded in the published record was unflinchingly borne by him. Nor could anything surpass the patience, the courtesy, and the distinguished eloquence and dignity with which at the age of 75 he carried out the whole programme.

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[1] On the occasion of the presentation recorded in the then collected edition of M. Barth's writings, pp. vii–xii.

From the time of the Paris Congress of 1897, M. Senart was regarded outside France as the leading French orientalist. He was a prominent figure in the gatherings at Rome (1899) and Algiers (1905). He was a member of the permanent international committee, and he also represented the Institute at the international conferences of Academies. In 1917, in order to meet the situation created by the war, and also in view of certain features of the pre-war Congresses, he made formal proposals, on behalf of the Société Asiatique, for special co-operation with the Royal Asiatic Society, providing for mutual privileges, annual gatherings, and joint enterprises. The agreement, to which also the American Oriental Society, the Scuola Orientale of the University of Rome, and the Asiatic Society of Japan became parties, is ully recorded in this *Journal* (1918, pp. 186–97). The first Joint Session was held in London on September 3–6, 1919, and the proceedings are reported in the *Journal* for 1920, pp. 123–62. There were further meetings at Paris in 1920 and at Brussels in 1921. From the gathering in 1919 four new Orientalist societies directly or indirectly originated, namely in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, of which the second, the Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, has since held annual assemblies of a partly international character. In 1923 the centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society was honoured by M. Senart's presence as a representative of France. When in 1926 the question of resuming the old series of international gatherings assumed a practicable aspect, M. Senart and his colleagues of the Société Asiatique were consenting parties in the negociations and approved the outcome. Shortly afterwards, in March, 1927, M. Senart's eightieth birthday was made an occasion for messages of congratulation from friends and colleagues both in France and abroad. A critical illness prevented any formal presentation; but the messages did not fail to receive an individual and gracious acknowledgment. Ever scrupulous in the minor offices of social life, a punctual correspondent, a delightful host, and a loyal friend, he realized an ideal of urbane unselfishness, in which only the winning exterior disguised a renunciatory quality. His increasing frailty was naturally as perceptible to himself as to others; but he anticipated its denouement, which took place on February 21 of the present year, without either satisfaction or regret.

He was born at Rheims on March 26, 1847. His relations with the Société Asiatique have already been particularized. In 1882 he was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. He was also at various times chosen as a member of the Academies of Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, and Russia, of Berlin, Göttingen, and Munich, and an Honorary Member of numerous societies. In this country the Royal Asiatic Society paid him that tribute in 1892, and the India Society in 1922 elected him a Vice-President; in 1923 he received the Honorary Doctorate of the University of Oxford. The death of his wife evoked many expressions of sympathy from orientalists who had enjoyed her hospitality at Paris in 1897; it left M. Senart without descendants.

Canon W. H. T. Gairdner

To have known Temple Gairdner must be accounted one of the privileges of life. His attractive temperament, his serious purpose, and his rare gifts in language and music made an unusual combination. Some one happily described him and his friend Douglas Thornton as the "poetry and prose of the Cairo Mission", an apt description of two splendid men of different types. Now the poetry and prose have both gone and the Mission can never be the same again.

Gairdner was born in Ayrshire nearly 55 years ago. He was the son of a distinguished President of the British Medical Association, Sir William Gairdner, of Edinburgh, who for 38 years held the chair of medicine in Glasgow University. His mother was English. After leaving a preparatory school in Moffat he went on to Rossall and then to Oxford, where he was an exhibitioner of Trinity College. His missionary enthusiasm showed itself early, for he was Secretary, possibly founder, of the Schoolboys' Missionary Union. He went to Cairo in 1899 for the Church Missionary Society, and at once laid the foundations of that accurate Arabic scholarship for which he became so well known.

His first books were a Life of his colleague, D. M. Thornton; Edinburgh, 1910, an account of the great missionary conference in Edinburgh; and a book on Muhammadanism, *The Rebuke of Islam.* By this time he had become head of the Cairo Language School and was turning his attention to books on Arabic. To be exact, his office was that of Adviser in Arabic Studies at the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo. He produced an admirable manual of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and a book on Arabic Syntax. For our Society he wrote a translation of Al G̣azzālī's *Mishkāt ul Anwār*, 1924.

But perhaps his best book, the one which showed most clearly his exceptional ability, was his *Phonetics of Arabic*, 1925. I can remember its earliest beginnings in 1912. We were seated in a hotel in Cairo discussing the book which was to be written. He suddenly darted out into the square and stopped an unknown passer by whom he persuaded to enter the hotel with him. This stranger answered questions and repeated Arabic sounds for a considerable time departing finally with a satisfying clink in his right palm. Such was the beginning of this truly remarkable book. In the course of that year it was my great pleasure to receive the MS. of the book and engage in voluminous correspondence about it.

Even the briefest account of Canon Gairdner should refer to his musical powers. No one who has seen him teaching Egyptian Christians to sing prose Psalms or watched him conducting a little orchestra in his drawing room can forget it. Music was his great hobby. To his work he gave himself without stint; what he did he did with his might; and he leaves the fragrant memory of a life well spent, full of usefulness and bright with example for us who remain behind.

T. Grahame Bailey.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*ṛ* or *r̥*
ॠ	*ṝ* or *r̥̄*
ऌ	*ḷ* or *l̥*
ॡ	*l̤* or *l̥̄*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *c̲h̲a* [1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲h̲ha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

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[1] In modern Indian languages only.

ध	*dha*	
न	*na*	
प	*pa*	
फ	*pha*	
ब	*ba*	
भ	*bha*	
म	*ma*	
य	*ya*	
र	*ra*	
ल	*la*	
व	*va*	
श	*śa*	
ष	*ṣa*	
स	*sa*	
ह	*ha*	
ळ	*ḻa* or *ḷa*	
ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ*	or ~
(*Anunāsika*)	*m̐*	
: (*visarga*)	*ḥ*	
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	*ẖ*	
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*	
ऽ (*avagraha*)	’	
Udātta	´	
Svarita	^	
Anudātta	`	

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-g̱hunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا	at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by ˊ *or*
ب	*b*
ت	*t*
ث	*t* or *t̲h̲*
ج	*j* or *d̲j̲*[1]
ح	*ḥ*
خ	*ḫ* or *k̲h̲*
د	*d*
ذ	*d̮* or *d̲h̲*
ر	*r*
ز	*z*
س	*s*
ش	*s̮* or *s̲h̲*
ص	*ṣ*
ض	*ḍ*
ط	*t̤* or *ṭ*[1]
ظ	*z̤* or *ẓ*[1]
ع	'
غ	*g̮* or *g̲h̲*
ف	*f*
ق	*q*
ک	*k*
ل	*l*
م	*m*
ن	*n*

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[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
११०४५५

و	*w* or *v*
ه	*h*
ة	*t* or *ḥ*
ي	*y*

vowels َ *a*, *i*, ُ *u*
lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, ـُو *ū*
Alif-i-maqṣūra may be represented by *ạ̄*
diphthongs ـَيْ *ay* and ـَوْ *aw* or ـَيْ *ai* and ـَوْ *au* respectively
e and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*
also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—
ل of article ال to be always *l*
Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *s̤* for ث, *z̤* for ذ, and *ẓ* for ض
waṣla ʼ

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

پ	*p*
چ	*ç*, *c*, or *ch*
ژ	*ẓ* or *zh*
گ	*g*

Turkish letters.

ك	when pronounced as *y*, *k* is permitted
ڭ	*ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

ٹ or ټ	*ṭ*
ڈ or ډ	*ḍ*
ڑ or ړ	*ṛ*
ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*)	~ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣḥtō letters.

څ	*ts* or *ʦ*
ږ	*g̣* or *ẓḥ* (according to dialect)
ڼ	*ṇ*
ښ	*ksh* ; or *ṣḥ* or *ḳḥ* (according to dialect)
ڂ or ځ	*dz* or *ʣ*

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